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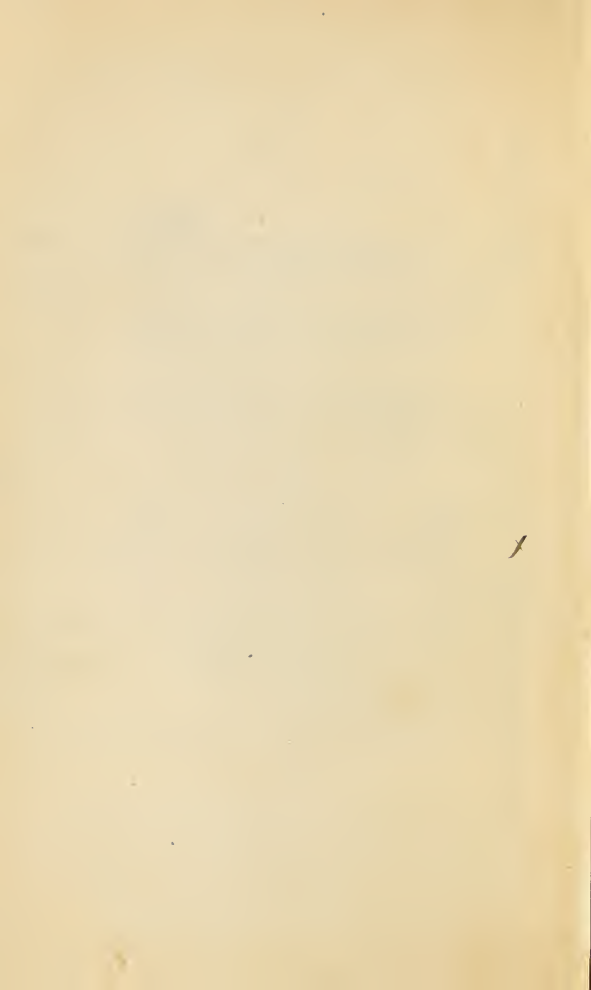
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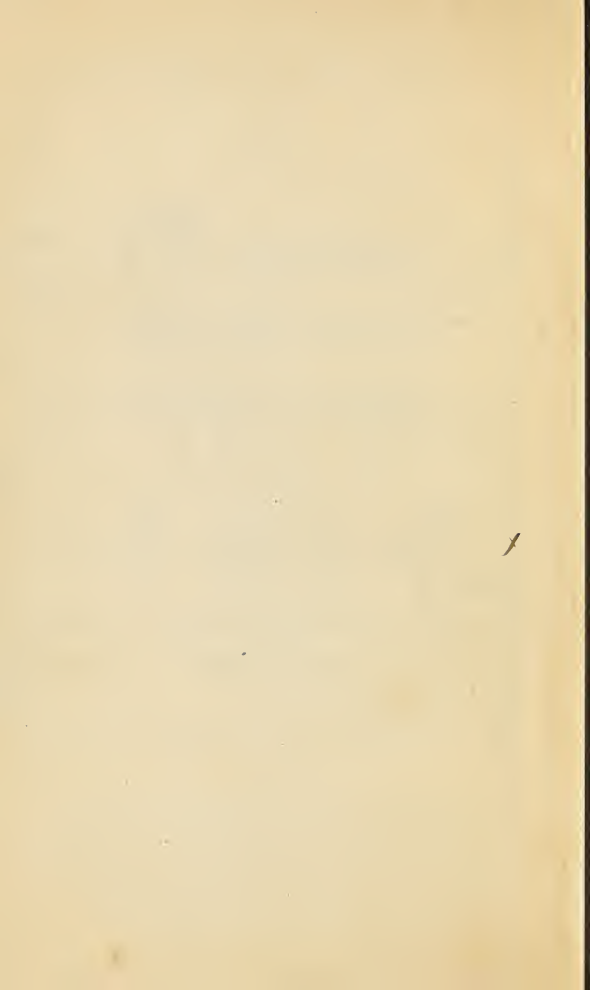
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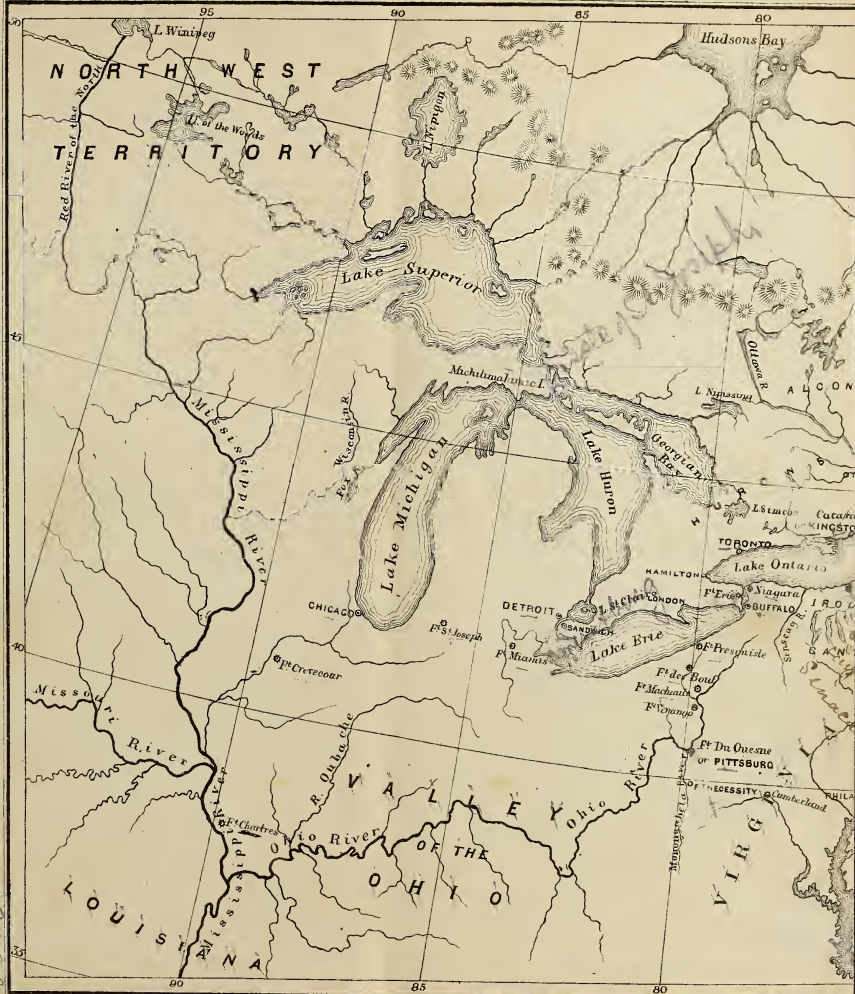
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NEW SERIES OF HISTORIES OF CANADA.

A SCHOOL
HISTORY OF CANADA

PREPARED

FOR USE IN THE ELEMENTARY AND
MODEL SCHOOLS

BY

HENRY H. MILES, M.A., LL.D., D.C.L.

Sanctioned by the Council of Public Instruction, Quebec,
for the Elementary and Model Schools, Protestant and Catholic,
and as a General English Reader in the
French Schools.

MONTREAL:
PUBLISHED BY DAWSON BROTHERS.

1870

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ON THE VALUE OF THE STUDY OF CANADIAN HISTORY TO THE
YOUTH OF CANADA—AN EXTRACT FROM AN EDUCATIONAL
ADDRESS OF THE HON. T. D. MCGEE.

Patriotism will increase in Canada as its history is read. No Province of any ancient or modern power—not even Gaul when it was a Province of Rome,—has had nobler imperial names interwoven with its local events. Under the French kings Canada was the theatre of action for a whole series of men of first-rate reputation,—men eminent for their energy, their fortitude, their courage, and their accomplishments; for all that constitutes and adorns civil and military reputations. Under our English sovereigns—from the days of Wolfe to those of the late lamented Earl of Elgin (to speak only of the dead,) our great names are interwoven with some of the best and highest passages in the annals of the Empire. We have not therefore a history simply provincial, interesting only to the Provincials themselves; but a history which forms an inseparable and conspicuous part in the annals of the best ages of the two first Empires in the world, France and England. I must congratulate the fortunate youthhood of these Provinces on the above facts, and hope that they likewise in their turn, years hence when other dignitaries preside, may be enabled to tell their successors how, even within their own time, a great step was taken towards the consolidation and advancement of British America, in the good days when Lord Monck was Governor General of Canada.

P R E F A C E .

This book contains the History of Canada, from the date of the first arrival of Europeans in the St. Lawrence, down to the date of the Confederation of the British North American Provinces, in 1867.

It has been prepared in order to supply an acknowledged want—that of a practically useful school text-book, containing, in moderate compass, the whole history, brought up to the present day, and one not unsuitable for the common use of the youth of the mixed communities composing the population of the Dominion.

To answer the ends in view, it has been deemed necessary to present the subject in the form of a continuous narrative, divided into four parts, each including a distinct and important period of time.

In the preparation of the work, a judicious arrangement of details, and the means of exciting and sustaining interest, have been thought as necessary to be secured as accuracy—the quality of accuracy, although indispensable, by no means embracing all the requirements of a historical text-book.

It may be remarked, that most of the English writers on Canadian history, have either ignored, or greatly underrated, the importance of its earlier portions, relating to the course of events before the cession of the colony to England, in 1763. Without presuming to allege that the history of

the last 100 years is less important, or less necessary to be studied, than that of the previous 229 years, it may be affirmed that such a mode of treating the subject is, at least, defective, for the following among other reasons, that it necessarily excludes much that is deeply interesting, as well as requisite to be known, in order to possess an intelligent appreciation of the state of things existing in Canada at this day.

In this book a considerable, though not undue, space, is devoted to the early growth and progress of those parts of the Dominion from whose experience and career the present lot and prospects of the whole have been mainly derived. There are numerous foot-notes, which, with the maps, and the woodcuts dispersed through the book, will undoubtedly render the narrative more interesting than it would otherwise be.

At the end are placed an extended table of chronology, of which the items all concern Canada, more or less directly, also an outline of the Constitution of the Dominion, and a full set of Questions for Examination.

In short, it is intended that the young reader or learner, by the time he reaches the end of this book, shall realize the fact that Canada possesses a history full of interest and instruction, of stirring incidents and realities—in these respects rivalling the histories of older countries, while it differs from most of them in not having its earliest chapters occupied with myths or fabulous traditions.

An eloquent statesman and writer, who was well informed upon the subject of which he spoke, commended, to the youth of the Dominion, the study of Canadian history, in the remarkable words printed after our title page.

Quebec, April 1870.

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(b) This cut, as well as No. 21, the likeness of Gen. Montcalm, were executed from copies procured through the kindness of Mr. Hamel of Quebec.

(c) In this plan are exhibited the single entrance into the bourgade, the arrangement of the habitations and intervening spaces around an open area in the centre. Inside of each habitation is marked the common living apartment.

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(e) Copied, by permission of Mr. Hamel, from a likeness procured by the late Mr. Faribault in Paris. This likeness is probably the most authentic one of the celebrated General, Mr. Faribault having received it from the principal representatives of the General's family at the time of his visit to Paris.

ERRATA.

Page 1, line 5th, for 1535, read, 1534.

" 48 " 22nd and 23rd, for *fathers Jogues and Massé*, read, father Jogues.

Page 113, line 3rd from bottom, for 1721 read 1749.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

DISCOVERY OF AMERICA BY COLUMBUS.—AMERIGO VESPUCCI.—CORTEREAL.—VERRAZZANI.—FISHERIES OF NEWFOUNDLAND.—JACQUES CARTIER.—CANADA DISCOVERED.—THE NATIVES OF NORTH AMERICA. (A. D. 1492-1534.)

We shall find it useful to introduce the History of Canada by a short statement of what was going on in the world just before the existence of this country came to be known.

A very great event had occurred in the year 1492—the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus. Before that time, although some persons may have imagined lands existing in the Western Hemisphere, none had been bold enough to strike out far into the ocean, westwards. In fact, the attention of merchants and navigators had been confined to shorter voyages, along the shores of the Mediterranean, and to the eastern coasts and islands of Africa.

It was the custom in those days—that is, in the latter half of the 15th century—for the mariners of Italy, England, and France, to flock to Lisbon for employment in the service of the Portuguese. The people of Portugal were then famous for the skill and courage of their seamen, who had made voyages to distant parts of the African coast, trading with the natives and carrying back to their own country, gold and other valuable things. The success of the Portuguese was made known to the people of those other European nations. Thus seamen belonging to Italy, England, and France, obtained better means than before of improving in the skill and knowledge required in their occupation.

In the course of the last quarter of that century, when improvements in navigation, and a more correct knowledge of the earth's shape, had prepared the way, it became possible to persuade people that China and the

East Indies might be reached by sailing across the Atlantic, on a *westerly* course. *

Columbus, who was a native of Genoa, and who had served in the Portuguese ships on voyages to Africa, Madeira, the Canary Islands, and the Azores, became convinced that by sailing westwards he might arrive at the "*Indies*." He tried to procure aid to the undertaking from his countrymen the Genoese. These having refused, he applied to the courts of Portugal and Spain, while at the same time he sent his brother Bartholemew to ask the help of King Henry VII of England.

After meeting with many refusals and disappointments, the king and queen of Spain at length furnished the necessary means, and commissioned him, as their admiral, and their governor over all the new regions he might discover, to undertake the voyage. Columbus then conducted a squadron of 3 small vessels and 120 men across the Atlantic, and, after a voyage of 70 days, arrived at one of the Bahama Isles, named by him *San Salvador*, on October 12th, 1492. He also discovered and visited *Cuba* and *Hispaniola*, or *Hayti*. Between 1492 and 1504 he made, in all, four voyages from Europe. Besides discovering most of the islands off Mexico, he explored the coast of the main land, between Honduras and the Gulf of Paria. But, although he saw and examined some of the coast, he does not appear to have attempted to found any establishment upon the continent of America, as he had done in the island of Hispaniola.

Amerigo Vespucci of Florence also made four voyages between Europe and America, and published narratives and charts of his own discoveries. This navigator claimed to be the first European who had reached the mainland. After the death of Columbus, which occurred in 1506, the statements of Amerigo Vespucci led people to confer the name "*America*" on the new continent.

* Hitherto the rich products of those Eastern countries had been brought to Europe, *overland*, through Tartary, Persia, Asia-Minor and Turkey. China was then called *Cathay*, and the Eastern countries, generally the "*Indies*."

About the year 1498, a considerable part of the North American coast was explored by *John Cabot* and his son *Sebastian*. These navigators, who came from Venice to settle in England, sailed in the service of King Henry VII. They discovered Newfoundland and the island of St. John, since named Prince Edward's Isle. Next, Gaspard Cortereal, a Portuguese, was the discoverer of Labrador and Greenland, about the year 1500.

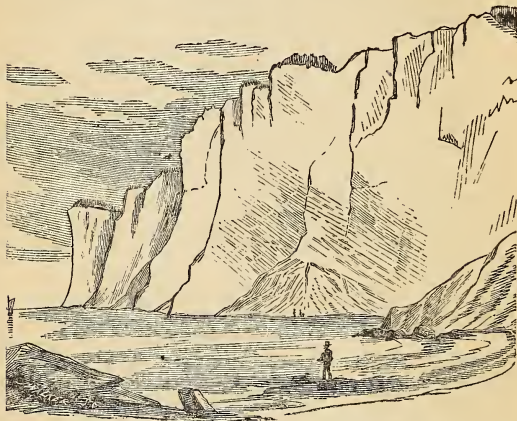
Some time later the French took part in following up these discoveries in the Western Hemisphere. *John Verrazzani*, another Florentine, commissioned by the King of France, explored the coast from Carolina to Nova Scotia, in 1524. According to the fashion of the day, * he claimed the coast and all the region lying beyond, as possessions of the French King. He gave to them the name of *New-France*—a name which, as we shall see in the course of this history, was afterwards applied to most of the territory claimed to belong to France in the new world.

While the discoveries which have been mentioned, were being made, the shallow parts of the ocean in the neighbourhood of the coasts of Newfoundland and Nova-Scotia—commonly called the *Banks of Newfoundland*—were frequented by the fishing vessels of the various European nations. Every season the French, Dutch, English, and others, came thither to carry on the *cod-fisheries*, which have afforded, from that period to the present, such an abundant supply for the use of mankind. It is thought that the bold mariners who were engaged in that occupation must have often visited, or been driven by storms upon, the coasts of the neighbouring continent. According to this belief, the coast of Gaspé and other parts of the shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, are sup-

* The mode of taking possession of a newly discovered country then consisted in erecting crosses, with inscriptions upon them, amidst religious ceremonies, the discharge of fire arms, &c. The natives were forbidden by signs to meddle with these marks of European sovereignty.

posed to have been known to Europeans very early in the 16th century.

Ten years after the time of Verrazzani, namely in the year 1534, that part of Canada now called Gaspé, as well as the island of Anticosti, the mouth of the great river St. Lawrence, and the straits of *Belle-isle* between New-



Cape Gaspé.

foundland and Labrador were visited by *Jacques Cartier*. He was a native of the French sea-port town *St. Malo*, and to him is ascribed the honor of the discovery of Canada. The particulars of his three voyages are given in the early chapters of this history.

Mention must now be made of the people whom the Spaniards and French found inhabiting the islands and mainland of North America.

Believing that these were really parts of *Cathay* and the *East-Indies*, the first European visitors called the natives *Indians*. The mistake was found out afterwards,

for *Vasco-Nunez*, in 1513, made his way across a part of the American continent, and beheld the Pacific Ocean lying beyond. But the name of *Indians* continued in use.

For the present, it is enough to convey to the young reader's mind an idea of the disposition and habits common to the Indians generally. In this history, however, we shall have concern with only a few of the tribes who formerly roamed through the territory lying between the boundaries of the Atlantic on the East, the Rocky Mountains on the West, Mexico on the South, and the Laurentine Mountains on the North.

There were about eight distinct nations, so far as can be judged by the different languages in use amongst them. These nations were broken up into a great many different tribes.

Owing to their general appearance, complexion, and habits, and as they were all pagans, the Europeans readily believed them to be of the same origin as the Asiatics.

The Indians with whom we shall have most to do in this history, belonged to only three or four of the distinct nations which have been mentioned. They were spread through the valleys and forests, and along the margins of the streams and lakes situated between the North Atlantic coast and the western shores of lake Michigan, and towards the great river Mississippi.

Not counting the inhabitants of the islands near the Gulf of Mexico, and those of Mexico itself, the whole native population of North America has been reckoned at less than 200,000 souls when the new world was discovered. Those of *New-France*, including Canada, were, of course, far less numerous.* The Europeans considered the members of the Indian tribes so like each other that it came to be said of them "to see one is to see all." This was said in regard to their outward appearance, weapons, clothing, complexion, high cheek bones, narrow foreheads, bright eyes and long coarse hair. Often the hair of their

* For present numbers, &c., of Indians belonging to the Dominion of Canada, see note at the end of this introductory chapter.

heads was cut off, except a tuft allowed to remain on the crown. Their senses of sight and hearing were very keen. They could move about with great speed in the forest, and paddle their bark canoes on the waters, with great skill and rapidity.

Although there were cowards amongst them, they were generally courageous. They shewed a wonderful ability to endure fatigue, hunger and the various forms of human suffering. They considered revenge a virtue, and, towards their enemies, practised every species of deceit and cunning.

Their weapons were, bows and arrows, *tomahawks*, short clubs, knives, and, sometimes, spears and shields. Their clothing, light or heavy according to the climate and the season of the year, consisted, chiefly, of the skins of wild animals; afterwards, when they traded with the Europeans, other materials for clothing were added, such as pieces of cloth, linen, flannel, blankets, &c.

They commonly painted or dyed the skin of the body and the visage, and smeared themselves over with grease.

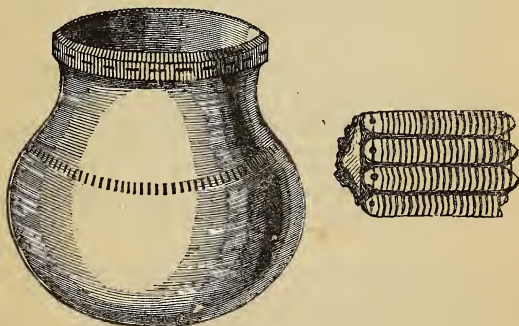
Their leaders, or chiefs, wore particular ornaments, feathers, bracelets and collars of *wampum*. In the forest and remote wilds, the members of different tribes could discern each other by marks which a European would not notice—such as the arrangement of a feather, or a streak of paint, or some slight gesture.

The tribes most advanced in the arts of life occupied villages or *bourgades*, enclosed within *palisades*, or living in *wigwams* covered with bark. Those found occupying the Island of Montreal, when Europeans first visited the country, appear to have made some progress in the simpler and most necessary arts of life. This is shewn by the character of their bourgade at Hochelaga (page 7), and by the specimens of pottery which have been discovered in the soil.

They subsisted principally on food procured by hunting and fishing, also on wild fruits and roots. Some tribes practised a rude species of agriculture, raising several sorts of beans, maize, and melons. The males able to

pursue war and the chase were styled *warriors*. These esteemed all other occupations which implied *work*, as being beneath them. All sorts of labour and drudgery were left to be done by the women. The men, when not engaged on the *war-path*, or in the chase, spent their time in sloth and idleness.

In disposition the savages were ferocious and quarrelsome, and, as has been already intimated, extremely vindictive. They were great gluttons, and, after they became acquainted with the Europeans, great drunkards.



Indian Pottery.

Those whom they conquered in battle, were usually treated with cruelty. Prisoners, excepting on occasions, when they were spared to fill up the places of their own slain relations, were commonly put to death. * It was quite common to burn and otherwise torment their cap-

* The process called *scalping* was almost universal among the Indians. The method of performing it was, to make a cut round the victim's skull and then tear off the entire *scalp*, with the hair attached. This was sometimes done before the sufferer was dead. Indian warriors preserved the scalps of their foes as trophies, wearing them suspended at their belts, as proofs of valour.

tives. Sometimes they devoured the flesh of their enemies. Even the women and children took part in the processes by which the bodies of the hapless victims were mangled and tortured. But the sufferers themselves, according to Indian notions of courage and duty, used to defy their tormentors, by shewing themselves indifferent to bodily pain.

They were credulous and superstitious, believed in *omens*, and in *sorcery*.

They had an imperfect sort of creed about a Supreme Being, called "The Great Spirit." They believed also in the existence of many inferior spirits, and in a future state.

They had no written language. In the use of their spoken languages they dealt largely in flourishes and figures of speech, and their chiefs were often good orators.

The Indian tribes with which the early French settlers had most concern are mentioned in the first part of the Sixth Chapter of this book.

The territories, or *hunting grounds*, chiefly occupied by them, may be seen by inspecting the map. *

* The reader will be interested in learning some particulars of the modern Canadian Indians—that is, of those who now (1867) live under the government of the Dominion of Canada.

The total Indian population of the four Provinces appears to be over 25,000, not including those of Labrador, Hudson' Bay Company's Territories, &c. They are distributed as follows :

In Ontario, on the Grand River, Bay of Quinté, River Thames, about 4,000 *Iroquois*; about 6,000 *Chippewas* including some *Ottawas* and *Pontewattonies*, at Lakes Superior, Huron, St. Clair, and other parts; 700 *Mississagas* at Rice Lake, the Scugog, &c.; and 2,500 *Manitoulin Island* Indians, *Ojibways* and remnants of other tribes—amounting to upwards of 13,000.

In Quebec (Lower Canada), we have of *Iroquois*, about 2,700 at Caughnawaga, St. Regis, and Lake of Two Mountains; of *Algonquins* and *Nipissings*, &c., 500; *Abenakis*, of St. Francis and Becancour, 250; *Hurons* of Lorette, 300; *Micmacs*, *Montagnais*, &c., 1100; in the regions of the Lower St. Lawrence, about 3,000 styled *Naskapees*, with scattered members of various tribes. The total for the Province of Quebec is, thus, not far that of 9,000. In Nova Scotia, chiefly of *Micmacs*, there are 2,000; and, at Indian

Village, Northumberland, Kent, and other parts of New Brunswick, a like number.

The Iroquois of Upper Canada (Ontario) had lands assigned them in 1785, when they migrated from the United States under their great chief, Joseph Braudt, who had supported the Royal cause during the war which followed the rebellion of the English colonies. Of these lands, originally 1200 square miles, their descendants now hold only an inconsiderable portion.

The Iroquois of Lower Canada (Quebec), are descendants of those whom the French Missionaries formerly converted to Christianity, and who passed from their native cantons, south of Lake Ontario, to settlements provided for them near the St. Lawrence.

The Iroquois, and many of the other tribes of Canadian Indians, now gain a livelihood, partly by means of Agriculture and by carrying on various petty manufactures—basket making, ornaments, &c.—partly by having recourse to their ancient pursuits of hunting and fishing.

Through a Department of State (Indian Affairs), aid is distributed amongst the tribes, for procuring seed, grain, implements, building of school houses, teachers, medical services, pensions to the old, infirm and destitute, and for other objects.

In the schools for Indian children, of whom more boys than girls attend, the total number of scholars, for Ontario and Quebec is short of 2,000, with about 50 paid teachers. Very few schools for Indians have yet been opened in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

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CHAPTER FIRST.

CARTIER'S FIRST VOYAGE (A.D. 1534.)

1. It has been stated in the Introduction that the honor of the discovery of Canada belongs to *Jacques Cartier*, who was a seaman of *St. Malo* in France.

He made three voyages from his native port to the *St. Lawrence*, between the years 1535 and 1542. Some say he made a fourth voyage, but of this there are no certain accounts.

2. Cartier set sail from *St. Malo* on Monday, April 20th 1534. He had under his command about 120 men in two vessels of about 60 tons each. On May 10th he reached *Cape Bonavista*, Newfoundland. Thence he sailed in a northerly direction until he came to an opening—the *Straits of Belleisle*—which led into the Gulf of *St. Lawrence*. Some time was spent in coasting along the south shore of Labrador. Cartier was struck by the rocky and barren appearance of that region. He said of it “there is no good soil—it is more likely than not that this is the land which God assigned to Cain.”

The little squadron, after steering southwards along the west shore of Newfoundland, passed thence to the *Magdalen* islands. Prodigious numbers of birds were found here, of which a great many were killed for food. Cartier said “we could have loaded 30 barges with birds in an hour.” He was much pleased with one of those islands, saying of it “it contains the finest land we have seen. One arpent of it is better than all Newfoundland. It has beautiful trees, and prairies full of wild corn and peas in flower, as fine as in France, also abundance of currants, strawberries, roses, and sweet herbs.” The island so commended is supposed to have been that marked on the map as “*Bryon's Isle*.” Sailing on a south westerly course from the *Magdalen* islands, Cartier reached the mainland at a point of the coast of *Gaspé*. On Wednesday July 1st an opening into the land was entered, and named “*la Baie*

des Chaleurs," an account of the great heat of the weather. Always thinking of a passage through to the "Indies," Cartier ordered his men in boats to row to the most westerly part of the bay. Savages were seen engaged in fishing and on one occasion their canoes surrounded the boats. The French discharged their fire arms, which caused fear and wonder, and drove the natives away. Afterwards they were enticed to come near and presents were distributed amongst them.

The French landed at several places to look at the fine trees, many of them different from those of France. They saw the ground covered with red and white berries, strawberries, raspberries, and other fruits, growing on low bushes.

3. On Friday, July 24th, a wooden cross was prepared, 30 feet high. It was erected near the shore with much ceremony. The natives were watching close at hand. To display the power of Europeans, guns were fired, and the friendly disposition of the French was shewn by making presents to the poor Indians.

Having thus performed acts, which, in those days, were considered to be taking possession of a new country, Cartier left Bay Chaleurs. He carried off two of the natives.

Sailing northwards and westwards, he reached the island of *Anticosti*, and then passed on some distance towards the mouth of the river St. Lawrence. He did not go far in this direction, for he found the weather and the currents unfavorable. As the season, also, was advancing, he decided to return home. *

He reached St. Malo on September 5th.

Thus ended Cartier's first voyage to Canada.

* As it was only the beginning of August he would perhaps have remained longer but for the opinion of a council of his officers and pilots who said that nothing more could be attempted that season. They had plenty of provisions, including fish and birds.

CHAPTER SECOND.

CARTIER'S SECOND VOYAGE. — STADACONA. — HOCHELAGA. —
WINTER QUARTERS AT THE NORTH OF THE RIVER ST.
CHARLES. (A.D. 1535.)

4. Cartier made a report of his voyage to his king, Francis I. He shewed the two natives, whom he had brought home, as examples of the people inhabiting those distant regions. The king and court were pleased with



Jacques Cartier landing at the Island of Orleans.

what had been done, and readily agreed to furnish ships and men for a second voyage. It was thought that if a passage to the Indies could not be found out there, yet gold and precious stones might be procured. Another object was, to impart to the heathen natives a knowledge of the Christian faith. Three vessels, named, respectively :

"*Grande-Hermine*," "*Petite Hermine*," and "*Emerillon*" were prepared for the purpose, and with these under his command, Cartier set out on his second voyage, on May 19th 1635. In addition to the officers and men required for navigating the ships, there were several who went out as volunteers. The two savages were on board, now able to be of some service as interpreters.

5. A rough passage of nearly three months brought the squadron to the mouth of the great river St. Lawrence. † Guided, in part, by the information of his two interpreters, Cartier entered and sailed boldly up the stream. On September 1st the mouth of the Saguenay was reached, on the 6th, *Isle-aux-Coudres*, and the island of Orleans on the 7th. With the aid of the interpreters communication was held with the natives, who came off in bark canoes and surrounded the ships, bringing fish, maize, and fruit. The principal chief was named *Donnacona*. To him Cartier presented wine, biscuits, and sundry trifles. The people received and treated the French captain and his companions in the most friendly manner. After examining the coast of Orleans and the north and south banks of the St. Lawrence, Cartier found a place suitable for mooring his vessels. It was at the mouth of a small river flowing into the St. Lawrence. Cartier named it *St. Croix*, but it is now known by the name of the St. Charles. Here he placed two of his ships in security, having already determined to winter in the neighbourhood of the friendly savages.

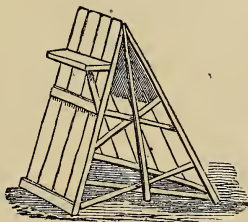
6. *Donnacona* and his tribe occupied a settlement on the slope towards the right bank of the St. Charles, named *Stadacona*. It is thought that the site of the Indian town was that upon which a part of the suburbs of Quebec, called *St. Rochs*, now stands.

7. On September 19th Cartier, with upwards of fifty of his followers, set out to visit an Indian settlement of which

† The river and gulf derived their name from that given originally to a certain bay in which Cartier's ships found shelter on August 10th, the day of the *fête* Saint Lawrence.

he had been informed, named *Hochelaga*, situated 60 leagues higher up the St. Lawrence. He went in the *Emerillon*, taking, besides, two large flat bottomed boats. Arriving in Lake St. Peter the ship was left behind while about thirty of the party completed the passage to Hochelaga in the boats.

8. Here also, as at Stadacona, the natives proved friendly. They dwelt in a *bourgade* strongly fenced round by means of a high palisade, stones, and trunks of trees. Its site is supposed to have been that upon which a part of the city of Montreal now stands.



Section of Palisade at Hochelaga.

Attended by his followers, and many natives, Cartier ascended the neighbouring mountain, whence he surveyed the surrounding scenery. He gave to it the name, *Royal Mount*. He also appears to have attempted in vain to ascend the rapids situated higher up the river. On the 5th of October, three days, after his arrival, he took a friendly leave of the natives and set out to return to Stadacona, which he reached on the 11th.

9. It may be mentioned here, as a singular thing, that although Cartier describes Hochelaga as a populous settlement, containing about 50 considerable habitations, and surrounded by fields of maize, yet, about 70 years afterwards, when the place was again visited by Frenchmen,

no town, or fields, or remains of Indian dwellings were to be seen.

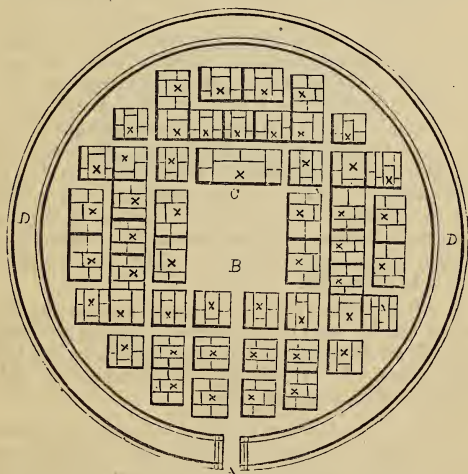
7. Cartier having brought back the *Emerillon*, and the two barges, to the mouth of the St. Charles, steps were taken in preparation for the winter. He had not much confidence in Donnacona's people, although it is true they tried to seem friendly towards the French and furnished some provisions. Therefore a sort of entrenchment was made of the place where the ships were moored, and the ships' cannon so mounted as to be ready for use. Unfortunately the French were not provided with abundance of warm clothing; nor could the supply of fresh provisions be kept up. In consequence, they were but ill prepared to face the severity of a Canadian winter.

10. Long before the winter of 1535 was ended, Cartier's people were reduced to a state of extreme distress by cold and sickness. The absence of vegetables and fresh meat brought on the disease, *scurvy*. Twenty-five died, and the rest, including Cartier himself, became feeble, and unable to wait upon each other. The survivors had lost the hope of ever seeing their own country again, when a native made known a method of cure by means of the bark and foliage of the Spruce tree.

11. At length that dreadful winter came to an end, and the suffering French gradually recovered their bodily strength. As soon as the ice was cleared away, the "*Grande-Hermine*" and the "*Petite-Hermine*" were removed from the stations which they had occupied for more than seven months. * The remaining people and supplies were placed on board those two vessels and preparations made for departure. Early in May everything was ready.

* Cartier's numbers being reduced by the 25 deaths which had occurred he did not require the further use of the *Emerillon*—most likely the timber of it had been partly used for fuel in the winter. Some decayed remains of this old vessel were found about 300 years afterwards, embedded in the sand and mud near the mouth of the river St. Charles.

12. Before leaving, Cartier determined to go through the ceremony of claiming possession of the country in the name of the king of France. He also laid a plan for seizing and carrying off the Indian chief Donnacona. During the winter the Indians of Stadacona had become less friendly towards the French than they were at first. While his people were sick and dying of the scurvy,



Plan of the Indian Town at Hochelaga.

Cartier was careful to conceal his condition. He was afraid lest the natives should take advantage of his weakness and attack him in his quarters. The Indians do not seem to have been openly hostile, but, as spring drew near, large numbers of them came together in Stadacona. There were signs of an intended attack, if the French should be found off their guard. Even the two interpreters appeared

less faithful, and also inclined to remain altogether with Donnacona.

On May 3rd, the French raised a wooden cross on the river bank. It was 35 feet high and was marked with the arms of France and the name of King Francis I. The ceremony was accompanied with the discharge of fire-arms and of the ships' cannon.

Soon afterwards Donnacona attended by a large number of savages came to the river bank, the ships being near at hand. Cartier caused him, and several others, together with the two interpreters, to be seized and taken on board. The savages, making no resistance, fled from the river side. Then they returned to the bank, and called aloud for their chief to be restored. Cartier brought him on deck where they could see and hear him. Donnacona was made to say to his people that he was going to visit the French king, but that he would soon come back. While some have blamed Cartier for thus carrying off the chief of the poor Indians, who had shewn the French much kindness, others speak of it more lightly, as a proceeding common in those days.

13. After leaving Stadacona, nearly seven weeks were spent by Cartier and his companions in making good their passage down the river St. Lawrence, and across the Gulf to Cape Race. In 17 days more they reached St. Malo, arriving there on July 6th 1536.

14. This second voyage of Jacques Cartier to Canada was the means of procuring a great deal of useful knowledge. It made known parts of America, far inland, but which could be reached through a great river, navigable by the largest ships of those days. It is believed that when Cartier was at Mount-Royal, in October 1535, he was told of other parts, still further distant, where great lakes were, and beyond which another great river (*the Mississippi*) flowed towards the South. Of course he felt sure that the fame of his discoveries and the sight of his Indian captives would lead at once to the fitting out of a third and still greater expedition.

But when he reached France, the king was at war with Charles V, then emperor of Germany and Spain. This, together with disputes about religion, filled men's minds. Cartier's discoveries in America were no longer thought of. He and his future plans were wholly neglected.

Donnacona, and most of the Indians who had been brought to France, died there, before any thing could be done towards restoring them to their native land.



Fragment of Indian Pottery found
at Hochelaga.

CHAPTER THIRD.

CARTIER'S THIRD VOYAGE.—ROBERVAL.—CHARACTER OF CARTIER.

15. Four years passed away. Cartier had friends at court, who at length found an opportunity of bringing his plans into notice. They tried to persuade the king to approve of the following up of his discoveries, and to cause *colonists* to be sent out to Canada. *

But others opposed, for the reasons that the climate was very severe and had been already fatal to many French-

* The region above the Saguenay, extending towards and beyond Stadacona, was at first called *Canada*. It is uncertain whether this name was of Indian or European origin.

men. These also said it was not worth while to care about a country full of forests, fitted only for savages, and which did not seem to contain gold and silver. Cartier and his friends said that the land was good for settlement, and that gold and silver might be found. They declared, too, that it would be a good design to make known the Christian religion to the savages.

16. In the end king Francis consented to the fitting out of another expedition. Money was given to buy ships and provisions. Cartier was appointed *Captain General* of the fleet, and *M. de la Roque de Roberval* was named *Viceroy* over Newfoundland, Labrador and Canada. They were directed to take out colonists. But as it was hard to procure persons willing to go, Roberval and Cartier were commanded to select prisoners from the gaols and galleys.

Five vessels were made ready and supplied with provisions for two years. These were put under Cartier's command, with a portion of the colonists, to sail in advance of Roberval. Roberval was to follow with the main body of the colonists and additional supplies.

17 On the 23rd of May, 1541, Cartier set sail from St. Malo, and, after a voyage of about 3 months, arrived once more at Stadacona. The savages, with their new chief or *Agona*, inquired for Donnacona and the other warriors who had been carried off five years before. They were told that all of them had died in France. Excepting the *Agona*, the Indians were not content with Cartier's explanations. Mistrusting them, Cartier took his vessels higher up the river St. Lawrence, to *Cap-Rouge*. Here, near to the mouth of a small stream, three of the ships were safely moored. Stores were landed, and storehouses built. On the high land above, a small fort was made. Enclosures and cannon were placed so as to protect the ships and the works against the savages. Some of the people were set at work, preparing ground for cultivation.

Cartier sent two of his vessels home to France with a report of his proceedings, and with letters, in which he stated his hope of the early arrival of Roberval.

18. While the fort at Cap-Rouge was being built, Cartier took a number of his men, in two barges, up the river to Hochelaga. With the aid of some friendly Indians he tried to make his way up the *rapids*, situated on the river above Hochelaga. In the attempt he failed. Returning to Cap-Rouge, he found that the Indians of the neighbourhood, including those of Stadacona, were entirely unfriendly. Some quarrels had occurred, in his absence, between the people working on the fort and the savages. One Frenchman had been killed. It is supposed that ill feeling between the French and the Indians continued throughout the ensuing winter. The French had to remain always on their guard and scarcely dared to go outside their enclosures. The savages were far too numerous for them, and, owing to Roberval's not joining them with fresh supplies, they had but little ammunition. But of the incidents which occurred at Cap-Rouge between October, 1541, and May, 1542, very little is known.

19. As soon as spring returned, Cartier made several excursions to search for gold and silver. None were found, and his people were discontented. Roberval did not arrive, and it had become impossible to carry out the objects of the expedition in the face of the superior numbers and enmity of the natives.

The French Captain therefore resolved to return home. Embarking all his people he sailed down the St. Lawrence and made for Newfoundland, which he reached in June 1542. There he fell in with Roberval, who ordered him to turn back and accompany him to the St. Lawrence. This Cartier refused to do. It is said that, to avoid being forced to obey his superior officer, Cartier set sail from Newfoundland, in the night time, for France.

He arrived safe at Malo. Whatever explanations he may have given of his conduct towards Roberval, he brought back to France a favourable account of the quality of the soil of Canada. He also shewed some pieces of iron ore and some crystals.

20. In the meantime Roberval continued his voyage to the St. Lawrence. He took possession of the quarters which

Jacques Cartier and his companions had occupied at Cap-Rouge. There, a winter of terrible hardship was passed. More than 60 of Roberval's colonists died from the cold and scurvy.

The Indians, outside of the enclosures, defied and annoyed the French as much as possible. Within, the colonists, being mostly convicts, and ill fitted to live in peace and good order among themselves, were managed with difficulty. In fact, Roberval was obliged to hang several, and also to have the less turbulent scourged and imprisoned.

In the spring of 1543 he endeavoured to explore the region of the river Saguenay.

21. The expedition under Roberval proved a complete failure. He seems to have remained in Canada until the year 1544. During his stay he more than once sent home, requesting succour. But the King, instead of sending aid, ordered him to return to France. †

22. Of Jacques Cartier himself no further information has been given in French history. He is supposed to have died near his native town St. Malo. He was one of the bravest and most skilful sea-captains of his time. That he was very highly esteemed by the king and court of France we know from the words used in his last *commission*, dated October the 15th 1540. In this the king is made to say "Having confidence in the character, judgment, ability, loyalty, dignity, hardihood, great diligence, and experience of Jacques Cartier, ..." "

He was a very pious man. This was shewn in all his voyages by his causing religious services to be held regularly in the ships under his command, and by his joining in religious ceremonies with the crews before starting. Most of the names which he gave to the rivers, islands, and places, discovered by himself, were chosen from those of the saints.

† It is said that Jacques Cartier was sent out to bring home Roberval and his surviving people.

Several years afterwards Roberval, with his brother, set sail from France on another expedition to Canada. But all perished at sea.

His faults, so far as we know about them, were those common to the discoverers of that age. If it was a great fault, on one occasion, to disobey his superior officer, he had to choose between that and the ruin which he foresaw



JACQUES CARTIER.

would surely attend Roberval's enterprise. Roberval himself, probably, committed a great mistake in not being guided by Cartier's unhappy experience and by his advice not to proceed.

CHAPTER FOURTH.

INTERVAL OF MORE THAN HALF A CENTURY—EXPEDITION OF
M. DE LA ROCHE—SABLE ISLAND—THE PELTRY TRADE.
(1544-1600).

23. After the times of Jacques Cartier more than half a century passed away before further attempts were made to settle Canada. During that interval, France was ruled by six kings in succession—namely, Francis I, Henry II, Francis II, Charles IX, Henry III, Henry IV. The reigns of these sovereigns were an almost continued scene of warfare abroad and quarrels at home.

24. At length, in 1598, Henry IV conferred upon the *Marquis de la Roche* the commission which had been formerly held by M. Roberval. De la Roche took out a body of convicts. These he landed on *Sable Island*, intending to remove them after he had spent some time in exploring the nearest coasts. But he never returned to them, so that the wretched convicts had to remain on the island a number of years, during which all except 12 perished. The survivors were brought back to France. Thus M. de la Roche's expedition was another failure.

25. While the banks of the St. Lawrence and the forests of Canada were thus abandoned to the native Indians alone, the French and other European people did not cease to navigate the Atlantic. They came every season to fish, near Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Their traders also did business with Indians on the coasts. The savages brought skins of wild animals, and furs, for which the Europeans gave them, in exchange, various useful articles. The trade thus carried on with the savages came to be called "*The Peltry Trade.*" In those days it was found to be a very valuable source of profit. The skins and furs, obtained cheaply from the Indians, were sold afterwards in Europe, at considerable prices.

In the early times of Canadian history, the peltry trade formed the principal object of commerce. Merchants, and

companies, in France, strove to obtain *charters*, giving them the sole right to carry on that trade. They were usually bound, in return, to carry out settlers, and to do other things relative to the settlement of the country, and the support of religion.

In short, the peltry trade, and the desire to convert the savages to Christianity, were long the only real foundations of intercourse between France and Canada.

26. The animals whose skins were the chief objects of the peltry trade were the following: the *Beaver*, the *Beaver*, the *Otter*, the *Fox*, the *Martin*, the *Mink*, the *Wild-cat* or *Lynx*, the *Muskrat*, also the *Moose* and *Cariboo*. Of all these the Beaver was the most valuable.

CHAPTER FIFTH.

FUR COMPANIES. — CHAUVIN, PONTEGRAVÉ, CHAMPLAIN, DE MONTS, POUTRINCOURT.—POWERS AND PRIVILEGES OF THE COMPANY OF DE MONTS.—PORT ROYAL FOUNDED.—CHAMPLAIN FOUNDS QUEBEC.—WINTER OF 1608-9. (A.D. 1600-1609.)

27. Some time before the year 1600, the coast of Nova Scotia—then called *Acadia*—and the shores of the Gulf and River St. Lawrence, were much frequented by the French traders. They had dealings with the savages at different places. As far up the St. Lawrence as the mouth of Saguenay there was already a trading station, called *Tadoussac*.

But no permanent settlement in those regions had yet been made. The fisheries, and the traffic in skins with the Indians, had, hitherto, been carried on by any private persons who chose to do so.

28. But, in the year 1599, and afterwards, several persons of note came to take part in the peltry business. To hinder private traders, and to conduct the traffic on a larger scale, those persons joined in forming *companies*. The principal members, or partners, seem to have been merchants as well as seamen. The private traders belonged

chiefly to *Dieppe*, *St. Malo*, *Rouen* and *Rochelle*, many of whom, however, joined the companies.

The first company was formed by *M. Pontegravé*, *Captain Chauvin*, and others. The king granted to them a charter, in virtue of which they were to have the sole right of trading with the savages, as well as all the powers which had formerly been conferred upon Roberval and de la Roche. In return for their privileges, they were required to carry out 500 settlers to the banks of the St. Lawrence. They were also bound to provide for religion.

Chauvin, who made several voyages to Tadoussac, died soon afterwards. Then a new and wealthier company was formed by *M. de Chates*, governor of Dieppe. Pontegravé was also in this company. He and de Chates took into partnership another person, who became one of the most remarkable men of those times—*Samuel de Champlain*.

29. In the year 1603, Champlain and Pontegravé made a voyage to Tadoussac. They passed thence up the St. Lawrence, as far as the rapids above the site of Hochelaga. This Indian town, as well as Stadacona, had ceased to exist; for Champlain, who wrote history of the voyage, saw no remains of their former occupants. * The promontory near Stadacona had, by this time, come to be called *Quebec* in the native tongue. When, at the close of the season, Champlain and Pontegravé arrived in France, they found that M. de Chates was dead.

30. In place of M. de Chates, the king named *M. de Monts*. In conjunction with Champlain, Pontegravé and a wealthy Baron, named *Poutrincourt*, M. de Monts fitted

* The young reader may ask to be told what had become of the people, of whom such numbers occupied Stadacona, and Hochelaga, about 60 years before. The question cannot be answered satisfactorily. Some have thought that they must have been driven from their settlements by hostile tribes, and their habitations destroyed. Others, that Jacques Cartier's Indians were of the tribes called *Huron-Iroquois*, and that they abandoned Stadacona and Hochelaga to join the *Iroquois* nations, whose chief settlements were south of Lake Ontario.

out an expedition in the year 1604. It was the best furnished that had ever left France for the West. Only one of the ships, however, was intended for Canada. Others, conveying de Monts, Poutrincourt, and Champlain, were to land settlers and supplies in Acadia, and to found a permanent settlement there. At the same time Pontegravé was to cruise in the neighbourhood of the gulf shores and Cap-Breton to protect the rights and privileges of the company from all private traders.

31. It is necessary to explain the rights and privileges named in the preceding article, and also to state what were the powers and the duties of the company. The head of the company, de Monts, was to be Lieutenant of the king over all parts of North America, from the latitude of 40° to 46° North. He was enjoined to establish colonists, cultivate the soil, search for mines, build forts and towns, and to confer grants of land. None but the company were to have the right of trading with the natives. De Monts and his friends, being Huguenots, * were to be allowed the free exercise of their own religion. But they were to protect the catholic religion everywhere, and to provide for converting the savages to that faith. The company had likewise the power to warn off, and even to seize, all ships found trading with the natives.

It should be mentioned here that the former companies had placed no real colonists in New-France. They had merely established a few trading stations, where all were their agents for procuring furs, and men otherwise employed in connection with their traffic.

32. De Monts, with Poutrincourt and Champlain, explored the coasts of Nova Scotia, and New England. After spending some time in searching for a suitable place, they entered an inlet leading from the Bay of Fundy. Here, on

* The French *protestants* or *Calvinists* were styled *Huguenots*. King Henry IV himself was a Huguenot, while king of Navarre, before he came to throne of France.

A great many of the members of de Monts' company, as well as many of the sailors, and others employed, were also protestants.

a beautiful site they founded *Port Royal*, afterwards named *Annapolis*. Land was cleared and seed sown. In 1606, de Monts made a grant of the place to Poutrincourt, who made efforts to increase the number of Colonists there, and in adjacent parts of Acadia.

In 1607, owing to the enmity of the merchants in several French sea ports, the powers and privileges granted to De Monts were taken away. The Acadian colony was greatly injured by this. It continued, however, in existence. Ministers of religion—a priest of the Franciscan order of *Récollets*, and two Jesuits—were sent out in 1610 and 1611. But in 1613 the Port-Royal settlement was, for the time, ruined by Capt. *Argall*, the commander of an English ship.

33. Meanwhile, in the year 1608, Champlain, in company with Pontegravé, was despatched from France, as the agent of M. De Monts, to establish a colony on the banks of the St. Lawrence. He had spent his time, since 1604, partly at Port-Royal, and partly in exploring the coasts and islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and the adjacent regions.

After a passage of nearly two months, Champlain arrived at Tadoussac in the month of June. Thence he passed up the river until he arrived at the mouth of the St. Charles under *Cape Diamond*. There, on July 3rd, 1608, he landed his people—artizans, labourers, and sailors—and began to clear the ground, and to construct habitations, storehouses, and defences.

This was the beginning of Quebec, the future capital of New France.

34. While Champlain was occupied with these works, Pontegravé trafficked with the savages at Tadoussac. On the approach of winter Pontegravé left for France. Thirty persons remained with Champlain at Quebec. Champlain's experience gained at Port-Royal enabled him to protect his people, during their first winter, from many causes of suffering to which they might have been exposed. But there was one dangerous enemy that he could not guard

against—the *scurvy*. * This dreadful scourge carried off most of his work-people. Indeed all might have died of it but for the mildness and shortness of the winter, which ended early in April 1609. The survivors soon recovered their health and strength.

Pontegravé was expected to arrive from France in the month of May. But Champlain was of so active a disposition, that without waiting for the men and fresh supplies to be brought out by Pontegravé, he started on an expedition up the St. Lawrence before the end of April.

CHAPTER SIXTH.

THE INDIANS.—CHAMPLAIN'S ALLIANCE WITH THE CANADIAN INDIANS.—HIS THREE EXPEDITIONS AGAINST THE IROQUOIS.—HIS DISCOVERIES IN NEW-FRANCE. (A.D. 1609–1615.)

35. Champlain tried to gain the good will of the savages whom he found on the banks of the St. Lawrence. He saw and held intercourse with those belonging to a number of tribes. Of these, there were the *Montagnais*, who traded with the French at Tadoussac, frequenting the Saguenay river and the St. Lawrence, below and near to Quebec. Next there were several minor tribes who hunted in the territory through which the St. Maurice flowed. But the most numerous and warlike were the *Hurons* and the *Algonquins*. The head quarters of the Hurons were on the borders of Lake Huron. The Algonquins, who are thought to have been the original stock or source from which most of the others were descended, were spread over an immense tract of country, but most nume-

* The Scurvy, called by the French "*Mal de terre*," was a very common and fatal disease until about the middle of the 18th century. It was brought on, when people, whether at sea or on land, were obliged to live in a confined space, without fresh meat and vegetables, and exposed to hardships. In course of time it was found out that the use of *lime-juice*, *vinegar*, &c., prevented the disease, and cured those who were afflicted with it. Since then it has become as rare as it was formerly common.

rous along the great river Ottawa. There were other bodies or families of Indians, then occupying parts of the region now included in Canada, but it is not necessary to give their various names here. It is enough for the young reader to remember that the savages whose good will Champlain tried to secure were, chiefly, the *Montagnais*, the *Hurons* and the *Algonquins*.

Champlain found out that these Indian nations were all hostile to the *Iroquois*, whose chief settlements lay south of Lake Ontario, in the country which now forms the northern part of the State of New-York. The *Iroquois* consisted of five considerable tribes, named, the *Mohawks* (or *Agniers*), the *Oneidas*, the *Onondagas*, the *Cayugas*, and the *Senecas*. These people were very fierce, and warlike. They were in league against the Canadian Indians, and against all other tribes within their reach. They were in the habit of entering the St. Lawrence by the way of Lake Champlain, and down the river Richelieu, then called the *River of the Iroquois*. They also crossed lake Ontario, to the Northern Shore, or descended the St. Lawrence, down to the mouth of the Ottawa, and the Island of Montreal. They attacked and massacred the *Hurons*, *Algonquins* and other tribes of Canada, wherever they could find them. A very bitter enmity existed between the hostile nations of savages. Such was the state of things when Champlain moved up the river St. Lawrence in the spring of 1609.

36. Champlain desired to be on friendly terms with those tribes of Indians who were to be the nearest neighbours of the French. He also wished to open a great trade in peltry with the *Hurons* and *Algonquins*, who hunted near the Ottawa and in more distant regions beyond; and he required the aid of these to enable him to explore the interior of the continent.

By these motives he was induced to take part in the warfare against the *Iroquois*. He therefore made an alliance with the *Hurons* and *Algonquins* who promised in return to shew him their country and to *befriend* as well as to trade with the French.

37. In consequence of his agreement with his allies, he accompanied their warriors in three expeditions against the Iroquois, in the years 1609, 1610 and 1615. In the first of these he had an opportunity of witnessing the modes in which savage warfare was conducted. He had only two Frenchmen with him. His allies went in canoes, by the way of the river Richelieu, to seek their enemies in their own country. They landed at a point not far from the outlet of Lake Champlain. As they drew near to the parts where they expected to find Iroquois warriors, they marched only in the night time. During daylight they lay still and lighted no fire. A considerable battle took place. When it had just begun, while the Iroquois were preparing to discharge their arrows, Champlain, in armour, suddenly shewed himself in front of them. His strange appearance surprised them. But when, with his gun, he killed an Iroquois chief, and wounded several others, and when his two French followers fired their pieces, the Iroquois were terrified. They turned and fled in all directions, pursued by the Hurons and Algonquins. The Iroquois were completely defeated, many being killed and some of them taken prisoners. For these Champlain tried in vain to secure humane treatment. His allies would not listen to him, but proceeded to burn and torment their captives. The Hurons, Algonquins, and Monta-



Indian Scalping Knife.

gnais, celebrated their victory by a great feast, Champlain witnessed their proceeding with horror. He saw them tear off the nails of their victims, put out their eyes, cut off their ears and lips, apply fire to different parts of their bodies, which were then mangled and cut to pieces. The entertainment closed with devouring the flesh of the slain. The sufferers themselves endured their torments with an outward shew of indifference. Champlain's endeavours to save them were met by the declaration, that what he

witnessed was the fate of the Hurons and Algonquins, whenever these fell into the hands of the Iroquois.

The conquerors returned to their own hunting grounds, and Champlain to Quebec.

38. In the following year, 1610, Champlain, with a few Frenchmen, again joined his Indian allies in an expedition against their enemies. The results were the same as before—a battle, the defeat of the Iroquois, and shocking cruelties practised upon the prisoners.

39. In the year 1615, Champlain joined in a third and still greater expedition against the Iroquois. On this occasion he went by a different and much longer route, as he desired to visit the Hurons in their own country. He passed the rapids above Montreal and then up the River Ottawa. From this he crossed the high land to lake *Nipissing*, and thence to the *Georgian Bay*, along the coast of which he descended to the Huron Country. This lay between the Georgian Bay and *Lake Simcoe*. Here, in a number of bourgades and thriving settlements, dwelt the Huron people. They have been estimated at upwards of 30,000 souls when first visited by the French.

After spending some time amongst them, Champlain accompanied the Huron warriors on their march towards the territories of the Iroquois. They passed through Lake Simcoe, and thence to the Bay of Quinte, and crossed Lake Ontario.

On reaching the Iroquois country they found a considerable body of their enemies stationed in a rudely constructed fort and ready to receive them. Champlain endeavoured to explain to his allies how they ought to proceed in making their assault. The Iroquois had now become a little accustomed to the fire-arms of the French and were not so afraid of them as formerly. Besides this, they were well sheltered in their fort.

The Hurons, neglecting Champlain's advice, made their attack in a very irregular manner and were repulsed. Champlain himself was wounded by an arrow. Several Hurons were also killed and wounded. Although Champlain and his French followers used their fire arms skil-

fully and did all they could to assist and encourage their allies, yet the fickle Hurons who had come so far to fight the Iroquois determined to retreat. The wounded, Champlain amongst them, were carried off as carefully as possible on litters, in the midst of the retiring Indians.

They marched back to Lake Ontario and crossed over to the north shore. Some time was spent in hunting between Ontario and Lake Simcoe. It was late in the autumn before they reached the Huron settlements.

Champlain, while crossing Lake Ontario, was informed that there was a route by water down to the lower St. Lawrence. But the savages pretended they could not spare canoes or guides at that advanced season of the year.

He was therefore obliged to go and spend the winter amongst them. There was a considerable number of Frenchmen with him. A Recollet priest, *Joseph le Caron*, was already established among the Hurons. Champlain considered that, with the aid of the priest, and of his French followers, he could gain much useful information about the country and the neighbouring savage tribes. He cheerfully submitted to his lot, and remained the guest of the Hurons about six months, until the month of May 1616.

40. While Champlain gained the friendship of many Indian tribes through assisting them against the Iroquois, the part which he took was followed by unhappy results. It increased the enmity of the Iroquois towards the Indians of Canada, without being of much real benefit to these in their defence. It also laid the foundation of deadly hostility towards the French which was kept up, with infinite harm to the colony, during most of the ensuing 150 years. It is said that, before he decided upon interfering in the warfare of the savages, he took counsel with his partner, M. Pontegravé.

41. During the six years which had now elapsed since the foundation of Quebec, Champlain had added a good deal to what was previously known of the interior of New France.

He was the first, of Europeans, to pass up the river Richelieu, and to behold the beautiful sheet of water called,

after his own name, Lake Champlain. He first penetrated through the rapids to the mouth of the Ottawa, and went up that great river. He also made known the existence of Lake Nipissing, Lake Huron, Lake Simcoe, and Lake Ontario.

During his stay with the Hurons, he procured much valuable information about the nature and manners of the savages. While there, he made excursions among the tribes nearest to the Hurons. He also held intercourse and made friendship with the chiefs of tribes whose settlements were many hundred miles distant from the Huron Country.

He heard, also, of the great inland sea—Hudson's Bay, then called "*the Sea of the North*."—of Lakes Superior, and Michigan, and of the great river Mississippi.

He afterwards wrote and published in France an interesting narrative of his voyages and journies, and prepared maps of the regions he visited.

42. Champlain was so long absent from Quebec on his third expedition to the Iroquois country, that the people there began to be very anxious about his safety.

He was very much beloved by them, and when he came back, at last, about the end of June, 1616, accompanied by the priest, le Caron, their joy was unbounded. They assembled in a little chapel, which had been erected some time before, and publicly offered thanks to God for bringing him safe to them again after so long and dangerous a journey.

CHAPTER SEVENTH.

CONDITION AND PROGRESS OF THE COLONY—MADAME CHAMPLAIN.—FORT ST. LOUIS.—RECOLLETS. (A. D. 1615-1624.)

43. It is necessary now to make mention of the progress of the Colony begun by Champlain at Quebec, as well as of several important incidents that occurred.

Very soon after the founding of Quebec, other stations were established, both at the mouth of the river St. Mau-

rice, and on what was afterwards called the island of Montreal. At the former of these places, called *Three Rivers*, a platform, storehouses, and a habitation were built. Indians came there to trade, from the St. Lawrence and from the region of the St. Maurice.

On the Island of Montreal, Champlain had a piece of ground cleared and named *Place Royale*, on the site of the modern city. Also at the spot now called *Lachine* he constructed storehouses and named the rapids "*Sault St. Louis*." This soon became a great trading station and frequented every season by large numbers of Indians, bringing peltry from their hunting grounds up the Ottawa, and in the region of the Great Lakes. The Island opposite the city of Montreal was named by him *St. Helen's Island*, after the name of his wife. *

44. In the year 1610, King Henry IV, the friend of de Monts and Champlain, died in Paris, murdered by an assassin. His death was soon followed by the loss of the privileges enjoyed by de Monts. After de Monts, several persons of influence at the Court became successively the protectors of the colony of New France,—the dukes *de Soissons*, *Condé*, *Montmorency*, and *Ventadour*—having the title of *Viceroy*s. Various changes occurred in the arrangements of the companies formed under the auspices of these personages. But the bravery, fidelity, and piety of Champlain, caused him to be retained throughout as the head of the colony of Canada. Although really employed by the companies, as their agent and representative, yet he held his commission from the King of France. †

* During his connection of nearly 30 years with Canada, Champlain crossed the Atlantic many times for the purpose of visiting Paris in the interest of the colony.

On one of these occasions he married a lady named *Hélène Bouillé*, in the year 1611. She paid a visit to Quebec in 1620, and remained about 4 years.

† Once, in 1619, steps were taken to deprive Champlain of this position, and to use his services solely for making new discoveries. His old friend Pontgravé was proposed to take his place and

His discoveries and writings had gained him a great reputation in his native country. The influence thus acquired he always employed diligently in promoting the welfare of the colony.

But in the management of the affairs of the companies in France, disputes and difficulties sprung up from time to time, by which Champlain's efforts were hindered.

45. Although the trading business was continued in Canada from year to year, yet no progress whatever had been made in settling colonists upon the lands. At Quebec there were seldom more than 50 or 60 persons remaining through the winter. These were nearly all persons in the employment of the companies. In the summer, the stations at Quebec, Tadoussac, Three Rivers and Sault St. Louis, the crews of the trading vessels and the Indians caused a much larger concourse of people. To supply the religious wants of these and to labour at the conversion of the savages, priests had been brought out. In 1615, four priests of the order of *Recollets* came to Quebec.. In 1617 and subsequent years, more *Recollets*, and afterwards *Jesuits*, arrived. Religious services were held at Quebec, Tadoussac, and Three Rivers. A small chapel and a monastery were built at the capital. *Recollets* and *Jesuits* were employed, some at the stations which have been mentioned, others on missions amongst the Indians tribes. These ministers of religion had plenty to do in instructing the savages, as well as in holding services for the benefit of the floating population of the trading posts. But, for a considerable time, there was no occupation for them in the way of laying the foundation of religion for the people of a future great colony. Champlain was very desirous of supplying his want. He thought it a great matter when a single family came out as actual settlers in the year 1617. †

actually was sent out to fill it during that year. But Champlain would not agree to such a change, and remained in Paris until the difficulty was settled.

† This consisted of a man named *Louis Hébert*, his wife and three children.

From time to time in after years a few others followed. Champlain brought his own wife, and two attendants, to Quebec in 1620. ‡ In 1621, a *register* of births, marriages, and deaths, was begun by the Recollets.

46. In noticing the progress of the infant colony, we must not omit to mention two serious causes, which afflicted it in Champlain's time, and continued to do so during the whole time of its growth.

The first was the hostility of the Iroquois. These did not confine their attacks to the savages of the country. They came prowling round the French stations at Three Rivers, Sault St. Louis, and even Quebec. They attacked and killed Hurons and Montagnais under the very eyes of the French and cut off the latter whenever they could be found off their guard. In the year 1620 after Champlain had arrived from France with his family, large bodies of Iroquois ravaged the country, killing many Indians. All that the French could do was to keep close inside their enclosures and defences.

Secondly, the people of the trading vessels supplied intoxicating liquors to the Indians who came to traffic. The savages were thus first led to become drunkards. Champlain and the priests exerted themselves to put an end to the evil practice. But their efforts were only in part successful, and great disorders were occasioned.

These causes, and the neglect of the companies to bring out colonists, and to supply the people who remained over winter with sufficient necessaries and means of defence, occasioned great anxiety to Champlain. The companies only cared for the gains of the fur trade. All the world, except Champlain himself, seemed to think nothing of Canada.

‡ Madame Champlain was the first *European lady* that made her appearance in Canada. She was younger than her husband, and remarkable for her piety and beauty. The savages were delighted with her presence and gentle manners. She wore a small mirror at her girdle. The savages who approached her could see themselves in it, and declared that she carried each one of them in her heart

47. In 1620, Champlain laid the foundations of a new structure at Quebec, to which he gave the name of *Fort St. Louis*. It was intended to be spacious and strong enough to afford shelter and protection to all in the place, in case of need. Several years elapsed before it was completed. *

48. In the mean time, owing to the disputes among the members of the Company of New France, and the complaints of neglect, sent home by Champlain and the Recollets, the king of France suppressed it and granted its chief powers and privileges to a new company. At the head of this were two brothers, Huguenots, named *de Caen*, belonging to the town of Rouen. The younger, *Emery de Caen*, went out to Canada to look after the company's interests.

49. In all his concern about the welfare of the Colony, Champlain was well seconded by the Recollet priests. These worthy men exercised a great personal influence and were much esteemed both by the French and the Savages. They received nothing beyond the bare necessities of life from those whom they served, for they belonged to an order which was bound by a vow of poverty. With their own hands they cleared and cultivated land on the bank of the river St. Charles, the name of which they changed from that of *Ste. Croix*, given in it by Jacques Cartier. Their habitation, constructed in the year 1620, stood on the site now occupied by the *General Hospital*. †

50. In the year 1624, while the works on Fort St. Louis were in progress, Champlain left Quebec on a visit

* It was situated on the commanding site now known as the *Durham Terrace*. It was the head-quarters of the Governors of Canada up to the year 1834, when the fort, or *Chateau*, as it was often called, was destroyed by fire.

† The habitation or convent of the Recollets was in exposed situation, outside of the defences. The Iroquois made an attack upon it in 1623, which induced Champlain to make Fort St. Louis stronger and larger than he had at first intended.

The Recollets afterwards had a habitation and garden near to Fort St. Louis, on the ground now occupied by the Court House and the English Cathedral.

to Paris. He took with him Madame Champlain to spend the rest of her life in her native country. Her example in coming out to the colony had not yet been imitated, and there were very few colonists yet established in the new country.

Emery de Caen was left behind in charge of affairs at Quebec.

CHAPTER EIGHTH.

CHAMPLAIN'S ENDEAVOURS.—ARRIVAL OF JESUITS AT QUEBEC.—RELIGIOUS MISSIONS.—STATE OF THE COLONY.—QUEBEC TAKEN BY THE ENGLISH. (A. D. 1624-1629.)

51. Champlain was detained in France until the year 1626. He courageously stood up for the interests of the colony, although in doing so he had to incur the displeasure of some persons of influence who belonged to the company, but who cared only for the gains of the peltry trade. He went to plead his cause among the wealthy, the religious people, and the principal merchants of France. He carried his appeals into the camp and into the king's court. Being very much respected, and pleasing in his manners and conversation, he could not fail to obtain hearers. Louis XIII was king, and *Cardinal Richelieu*, the greatest man in France, had just become his first minister. Richelieu was then forming plans for restoring to order the affairs of the kingdom. He took up the case of Canada, after a time, and arranged a method of succouring and advancing the colony.

52. Champlain returned to Quebec, with some supplies. He found the work, which he had left to be done during his absence, very little advanced. He set diligently about completing it.

53. Meanwhile, in 1625, the Society of Jesuits in France, who had been asked to assist in the work of the religious missions of Canada, sent out several of their

order.* On their arrival, the Jesuits were rather coldly received. Champlain was not there, and his representative, de Caen, was a Huguenot, who cared much more for his company's agents than he did for Jesuit priests. It is recorded, that, no person offering them shelter, de Caen was on the point of providing for them a passage back to France. But the Recollets generously invited them to come to their habitation on the St. Charles, until they could provide for themselves. The Jesuits were by no means destitute of resources of their own, for they had an abundant supply of necessities and 20 workmen for whom a passage had been secured in a small vessel hired for the purpose from the de Caens. They did not therefore, long require the hospitality of the Recollets. A piece of ground, conceded to them by the head of the company, was speedily prepared and a building erected. It was not far from the habitation of the Recollets. ‡

In the following year the Jesuits undertook missions among the Hurons and other savage nations. They had first to labour at learning their languages, and then to begin the still more difficult task of inducing them to become Christians. The Jesuits and the Recollets worked together in harmony. The hardship and misery, necessary to be endured by civilized persons dwelling among the barbarians of the North American forests, were cheerfully borne by those devoted men.

53. Between the years 1626 and 1629, the colony made no substantial progress. Although a new company, of which an account is given in the next chapter, was formed, under the direction of Cardinal Richelieu, in 1627, its arrangements were not completed until the following year,

* The first who came were named *Lalemant*, *Brebœuf* and *Massé*. They were accompanied by two *Brothers* of the order and a Recollet priest.

‡ The first establishment of the Jesuits was on the ground named "*Notre-Dame des Anges*," on the opposite bank of the St. Charles to that occupied by the Recollets.

and then it was found to be too late to save the colony from ruin.

The company of the De Caens became so neglectful that the people who passed the winter at Quebec, and who depended upon supplies from France, had not enough to eat. In the spring of 1627, they sent out an insufficient stock of provisions. At the same time the De Caens, would not permit the Jesuits to bring from France what they required for their own establishment at Quebec. They had equipped a vessel of their own for the purpose. In consequence they sent home their workmen from Canada, fearing they might not be able to feed them at Quebec.

Sometimes the ships bringing out necessities, had very long passages. The consequences to Champlain's people were serious, for then, the stock of provisions, intended for their support, were partly used up on the way out. The inconvenience was the more heavily felt because the Indians, their allies and visitors, observed their weakened condition. The Iroquois also became more bold and insolent. To add to Champlain's perplexity, he was very indifferently supplied with ammunition for his guns, in case he should be obliged to use them in defending the place. He had not so many as 50 able bodied men under his command. Such was the state of affairs in the colony in the year 1628.

54. It happened in that year, that a ship with supplies for Quebec—the last sent out by the De Caens—was intercepted at sea by commodore Kirkt. He was a French refugee, a Huguenot, who sailed under the English flag. With a small squadron he came up the St. Lawrence, as far as Tadoussac. There he destroyed all the property at the trading station, and put an end to the traffic for the season. He sent up a letter to Champlain, to inform him about the vessel he had intercepted. Kirkt also desired to know if Champlain would surrender his post without resistance; for, if not, as he was determined to have it, he would stay at Tadoussac and prevent any succours from reaching Quebec. He assured Champlain of good

treatment for himself and followers, provided he would yield peaceably.

Champlain concealed his real condition, as well as he could, from Kirkt's messengers, and returned a reply to the effect that he felt well able to defend his post. Kirkt did not see fit to approach Quebec that year. He presently set sail from Tadoussac and proceeded down the St. Lawrence.

55. In France, before this time, the new company had taken the place of the old one. Although the season was well advanced, yet a number of ships were sent, laden with colonists and all kinds of supplies for Quebec. There were five vessels in all, commanded by M. de Roquemont. But as he was sailing into the Gulf of St. Lawrence, he met Kirkt, with his squadron, sailing out. A short conflict took place, which ended in the capture of Roquemont's ships by the English.

This was a most unfortunate occurrence for Champlain and his people at Quebec. Had those supplies reached them they would have been rescued from ruin. But now, as winter was approaching, their diminished stores afforded only a small daily allowance for each person. This was increased, for a time, by what could be procured from hunting and fishing, with the aid of a few friendly Indians. It is recorded that Champlain's people were glad to scour the neighbouring forest in search of roots and other casual means of sustaining life. But it is hard to understand how they all managed to survive the winter of 1628-29. * That they did not die of famine was owing, in part, to Champlain's example, and his influence and good arrangements. While he exhorted all around him to bear their condition with patience, he limited himself to a share of the food no greater than that of the meanest person in the

* According to some accounts, M. de Roquemont had contrived to send forward to Quebec a small party in a cutter, just before he fell in with Kirkt. This was to announce the coming of the French ships with succours. Perhaps this little vessel carried up some provisions. But we are not distinctly informed.

place. He also persuaded the Recollets and the Jesuits, as well as the only two families of colonists then in the country, named *Hébert* and *Couillard*, who had raised some crops on their lands, to contribute all they had to the common stock.

56. In the spring of 1629, the missionary priests who had gone to the Huron country, came down to Quebec, accompanied by several Frenchmen. They also depended, for subsistence, upon supplies from France, and could not remain without them longer in the midst of the savages.

In their necessity, the French, at Quebec, observed that the Montagnais and Algonquins, with few exceptions, were insolent, and inclined to take advantage of their weakness. †

When July came, even Champlain could not help shewing signs of extreme anxiety. He had now given up all hope of witnessing the arrival of ships from France.

But, about the middle of that month, an event occurred which put an end to the struggle. Sir David Kirkt had returned with his squadron to Tadoussac. He sent on his two brothers, Louis and Thomas, with three armed ships, to Quebec. This time, Champlain made no pretence of ability to defend his post. He surrendered on July 20th, and thus lost, at one stroke, the fruits of more than 20 years' arduous exertion.

The conditions were, that, on yielding up the place, Champlain with all his people, and their personal effects, should be carried to England, and thence be permitted to pass over to France.

The brothers Kirkt then established themselves in possession of Quebec. Champlain and his followers were conveyed down to Tadoussac, where they were courteously received by Sir David Kirkt, and their passage across the Atlantic provided for.

† The *Abenakis*, a brave Indian nation whose tribes then occupied the country which now forms the State of Maine, behaved very differently from the Montagnais and Algonquins of the St. Lawrence. They sent friendly messages to Champlain and offered to receive and feed 30 of his people during the next winter.

57. Champlain was a man of astonishing perseverance. He, and the priests, and all the French, except a few who were permitted to remain as settlers, had been carried away captive, and the country given up into the possession of the English. Yet he by no means yielded to despair. On the contrary, he immediately set about working out plans for the recovery of his colony.

Even before he left Quebec his first steps in that direction were taken; for, the two or three heads of families who were able to make a livelihood by the cultivation of the ground, went to him for his advice about their own course—whether they had better go or remain behind. He counseled them to remain, at least on trial. They could, he said, live on their crops, and trade in peltry with the savages; but that, if they should find themselves not well treated by the English, and if they did not like their lot, they might next year return to France.

Champlain hoped, in fact, that, by next year, the country would be recovered by France.

When he arrived in England he went to the ambassador of France and gave, in writing, all the particulars of Kirk's proceedings. He also urged the ambassador to negotiate the restoration of the colony.

Next, he went to Paris and brought his case under the particular notice of Richelieu and other persons of influence. At the same time, he took advantage of his stay in the French capital to publish information about the advantages of Canada.

He thus tried to conquer people's indifference, and their ignorance on those subjects.

Unless Champlain had thus exerted himself, the court and people of France might then have abandoned the country for ever.

Although he could not point at Canada, as others did at Mexico and Peru, as a place for procuring gold, silver and precious stones, he set before their minds grand ideas of another sort. He spoke to them of the opportunity there was of converting to Christianity whole nations of barbarians, and the glory of founding a great French empire on

the other side of the Atlantic. His well known piety, and his representations about the heathen Indians, touched the feelings of the religious. His talents, his past history, his amiable manners and single-hearted disposition, as well as the real merits of his cause, procured for him a favorable hearing in all quarters.

Champlain considered that there was one very strong point in the case, which could not but prevail in leading his countrymen to insist upon the restoration of the country if only they could be made to value its possession. This, he urged strongly, that, at the time when Sir David Kirkt summoned Champlain to surrender Quebec, in July 1629, France and England *were not at war with each other*. A treaty of peace and alliance had actually been signed *more than two months before*. Whether Kirkt knew of this or not is uncertain. But some have alleged that he did know, and that his motive for taking the place was to repay himself for the great expenses of his expedition. The very courteous language he employed in summoning the place gives a colour to the accusation.

Champlain's hopes were eventually crowned with success. By a treaty between the two countries, dated March 29th 1632, the possession of Canada was restored to France. On the conclusion of the treaty, Emery de Caen was sent out to re-occupy Quebec where Louis Kirkt then had the command. De Caen had suffered losses during the late war, in consequence of which the French government granted to him the privileges of the peltry traffic in the St. Lawrence during one year.

58. Champlain himself, with a higher commission from the king than he had held before, sailed from Dieppe for Canada on March 23rd, 1633. He brought back with him a fleet of armed ships, carrying abundant supplies of provisions, merchandise, and munitions of war, together with colonists workmen and priests, to the number of 200 persons.

CHAPTER NINTH.

THE COMPANY OF ONE HUNDRED ASSOCIATES — CHAMPLAIN GOVERNOR OF CANADA — THE INDIANS — RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS. (A. D. 1629-1633.)

59. Cardinal Richelieu was the founder of the "Society of 100 Associates," the new company formed in Paris in 1627 to take the place of that to which the de Caens belonged. It derived its name from the intended number of its members, and comprised many of the principal persons in France.

60. The Company of Associates received from the King the powers and privileges which had been previously granted to the vice-roys and chartered companies. It was bound to provide for the settlement of the country, and for the religious care of the colonists, as well as the conversion of the savages. 4000 colonists were to be taken out and settled on lands before the year 1643. Every inhabitant was to be a French subject, and only one religious faith was to be tolerated. The religious missions for the conversion of the heathen tribes were to be entrusted to only one order of priesthood. The governor, or chief officer of the company in the colony was to be appointed by the society—also the officers of justice, subject to the King's approval.

Until the stated number of colonists should be taken out the company was to have the control of all the commerce of the colony, in addition to the peltry trade, excepting the cod and whale fishery. This latter was left open to all the king's subjects.

The rights of the company included a jurisdiction over all the territory claimed to belong to France on the continent of North America.

61. In consequence of the war between France and England, and the events which have been recorded in the preceding chapter, the company of associates did not obtain possession of its territories until the year 1632. Then de Caen, as has been stated, came out to Quebec, in the capacity of chief officer or agent. A year later, the valiant and

faithful Champlain was unanimously chosen by the associates to fill the chief office. In his commission from the king, as his Lieutenant General over New France, greater powers were conferred upon him. In consequence, Champlain's name stands first on the list of the Governors of Canada. This is fortunate for the history of the colony, because, in its early days, there were few of those who took an active part in founding it, who were fitted, to set so good an example to future governors. Most of those men considered first the gains to be made out of the Colony. Champlain, like his friend de Monts, was of a disposition to study first the honor of his country, and the substantial welfare of the colonists.

62. The French at Quebec, including those who had come out since 1632 and the few who had remained during the occupation of the place by the English, were delighted at Champlain's return. The Indians also, some from the upper country who had kept aloof from the English, came to testify their satisfaction.

Champlain employed all his personal influence with the savages to prevent them from continuing to trade with the English or with persons not belonging to the company of associates. It seems that some these latter, English and Huguenot traders, lingered in the neighbourhood of Quebec, and in the St. Lawrence below.

In order to prevent the Indians from bringing their peltry farther down, he re-established the post at Three Rivers. An island, also, was selected, near the mouth of the river Richelieu, and persons were stationed there to intercept the trade.

Champlain had to take a good deal of trouble, and some time elapsed, before the old arrangements with the Indians belonging to the upper country could be established again.

63. It had been arranged in France that the persons to be entrusted with religious duties in New France should be no other than those belonging to the order of Jesuits. No Recollets, as formerly, were to be employed under the auspices of the Company of Associates. Several Jesuit priests and brothers came out with Champlain in 1633.

Others followed, so that within two or three years there were nearly 20 ministers of religion in the colony. Champlain gave much attention to the plans for the religious care both of the colonists and the Indians. The priests and brothers were divided into two classes, of which one was charged with the missionary work, and the other with the care of the colonists, and of the French at the principal trading stations.

Champlain chose a priest named *Paul le Jeune* to be his own spiritual adviser.

While absent from Quebec, after its capture by the English, he made a vow to erect a place of worship if he should be spared to witness its restoration. Soon after his return, therefore, he had a chapel built, near the Chateau St. Louis, and named "*Notre Dame de la Recouvrance*." It was situated near to the spot on which the English Cathedral of the City now stands, and was the earliest Parish Church.

CHAPTER TENTH.

LAST DAYS OF CHAMPLAIN.—HIS CHARACTER.—THE OTHER EUROPEAN COLONIES. (A. D. 1635.)

64. Nearly the whole of the five preceding chapters of this book have been taken up with affairs in which the first governor of the colony was concerned.

But this the young reader can have no cause to regret, for he will meet with few characters in history who better deserve his notice than Samuel de Champlain. We have now, however, nearly done with him. Up to the month of October 1635, he continued diligently to attend to his various duties. Then he was seized with a mortal sickness, which, for ten weeks, he endured with calmness and resignation. During that period he lay prostrate on his death bed, in the Chateau St. Louis, unable even to sign his name. He was attended in his last moments by his friend and spiritual adviser, Paul le Jeune.

On Christmas day, 1635, he breathed his last, and his body was buried close under the lofty precipice upon which the Chateau stood. A stone vault was made for the reception of his coffin. Some time later, a small chapel was erected over the spot where the remains of the honoured founder of Quebec reposed. *



PORTRAIT OF CHAMPLAIN.

65. It is easy to make out the character of Champlain from what has been already said. He was industrious, brave, loyal, pious. Although he met with many obstacles in his career, he had no enemies. This proves, even if we did not know it from other sources, that he was amiable in his temper and conduct.

* The place of Champlain's interment was found in 1856. In digging for the water-works of the city, the men employed came upon a stone vault, in the centre of which was a coffin, containing human bones, in a good state of preservation. It happened in the year 1642 that Champlain's successor, wishing to honour the memory of a deceased priest, caused his remains to be buried near those of the late governor; and, in the short account given of this funeral at the time, mention is made of a *private vault* containing Champlain's body. No other old record is known to exist of a person, belonging to the early History of Canada, being buried in a private vault. Champlain's funeral occurred in January 1635, seven years before that of the priest.

He was able to bear much bodily fatigue and hardship. As a proof of this, we may cite the passages he made across the Atlantic ocean—upwards of a score, during his connection with Canada, which lasted 30 years. In those days, when the ships were small and uncomfortable for passengers, and when fever and scurvy sometimes raged during long passages of from two to three months, a voyage from Europe to America was a very different affair from what it is now.

Of Champlain's wonderful perseverance, enough has been said in a preceding chapter of this book. His habits were simple and frugal. Although usually of a grave and dignified aspect, Champlain was not wanting in cheerfulness, and on all proper occasions he could be jocose, and even witty. He was beloved both by his French followers and by the Indians. The Chiefs of the latter delighted in his company, and would say to him "you have always something pleasant to tell us and to make us laugh." When the Huron chiefs heard of his return to Quebec in 1633, some of them came all the way from the shores of the Georgian Bay to behold him again, and to bid him welcome.

There were other excellents traits in Champlain's disposition and character which might be stated, if our space permitted. Enough has been already said of him to prove his worth, and to shew that his merits were such as will always entitle him to be honorably mentioned in history.

66. Champlain wrote a full narrative of his voyages, journies and discoveries, which was published in Paris in the year 1632.

67. As we go on with the history of Canada, we shall find it necessary to know something about the progress of other colonies formed by Europeans in North America.

Before the time of Champlain's death the Dutch had established themselves on the banks of the river Hudson. The Dutch settlements afterwards came into the possession of the English.

The English had also founded colonies in other parts, now known by the names of *Carolina*, *Virginia*, *Connec-*

ticut, Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, and Maine. Afterwards the English settled other portions of the present *United States.*

About the year 1615, the name *New-England* came into use, to express, in one word, several of the English colonies taken together.

The Dutch and the English began to form their colonies about the same time as the French did theirs in Canada and Acadia.

But the English colonized from motives different from those of the French, and their systems were also different.

We cannot now go into the particulars. It is enough to say that trade, agriculture, ship-building, and commerce, and the desire to live in freedom from troubles in the country of their birth, induced many thousands to emigrate from England. When they became colonists, they felt no concern about the welfare or the religious belief of the savages.

The French came out to Canada in much smaller numbers, and depended, more, for support, upon supplies from France. They also devoted a great deal of attention and pains, as well as expense, to religious objects, and the conversion of the Indians. Of the three principal European nations that formed permanent colonies in America, it has been said, that "the Spanish came to hunt for gold and precious stones, the English to have freedom and to grow rich by trade and commerce, the French to promote religion."

CHAPTER ELEVENTH.

DIVISIONS OF THE HISTORY OF CANADA.—THE SEVERAL EPOCHS FROM 1534 TO 1763.

68. In order to avoid confusion, the present chapter is devoted to an explanation of the way in which it is best to divide the whole subject. The dates of the principal facts must be attended to, as they form the links in the chain of events to be remembered.

69. In this book, the whole course of the history is divided into four parts.

The first part embraces the time from the discovery of the country in 1534 to the year 1763—a period of 229 years.

Of the other three parts we need not, at present, say anything, except to mention that they extend, respectively, from 1763 to 1791, 1791 to 1841, and from 1841 to 1867. The regular history of the Colony, strictly speaking, does not begin until the time when New-France was actually placed under the control of Richelieu's Company of 100 Associates. It was then, in the year 1633, that Champlain became its first governor. Previously, his true position was only that of principal agent of the several trading companies engaged in the fur trade of the St. Lawrence, for their own benefit, rather than colonizing the country. Nor was any permanent state of things, in the way of settlement and regular government, arrived at until that year.

70. In the continuation of Part I, we shall have, in the first place, the narrative of the early struggles of the colony, while it remained under the control of the company of Associates, up to the year 1663. This period, counting from the time of Champlain's death in 1635, includes twenty eight years. It was, of course, a period of suffering to the colonists, since hardships were unavoidable in a new country covered by forests, occupied by savages, and having a rude climate. But, we shall see that the trials of the early settlers were immensely increased, owing to the Company's neglect, by the paucity of their numbers, and the absence of means of defending themselves and their property, from a nation of savage adversaries, than whom none more ferocious ever existed in the world.

Then, in 1663, when the causes alluded to had brought the colony to the very brink of ruin, we shall see that it passed out of the hands of the Associates, to become a Royal Government. When this was the case, the country was ruled by a Supreme Council, consisting chiefly of a Governor, a Royal Intendant, and a Bishop, until the

year 1763, when another great change took place. Thus we have included in Part I, the period of discovery and early settlement up to 1633, that of the Company of Associates extending to the year 1663, and, lastly, that of the Royal Government, which lasted 100 years, until 1763.

71. In relating the events of the second of the above three periods, to 1663, it is best to treat of them under three separate heads, namely, the progress made in settling the country, the Indian warfare, and the religious and civil affairs of the colony.

72. It only remains to be stated in this chapter, that the following persons held office as *governors* under the Company of 100 Associates—namely, *Samuel de Champlain* from 1633 to 1635; *M. de Montmagny*, * from 1636 to 1648; *M. d'Ailleboust*, from 1648 to 1651; *M. Jean de Lauson*, from 1651 to 1656; *M. Charles de Lauson*, from 1656 to 1657; *M. d'Argenson*, from 1658 to 1661; and *M. d'Avaugour*, from 1661 to 1663.

CHAPTER TWELFTH.

GOVERNMENT OF THE COMPANY OF ASSOCIATES—THE PROGRESS OF SETTLEMENT UP TO 1663.

73. The Company of Associates was bound by its charter, as has been already stated, to carry out four thousand colonists before the year 1643. Instead of doing that, it did not transport so many as one thousand, from first to last, during its whole existence. For we learn from authentic sources, that there were only about 800 souls in the Colony, in 1648. In 1662, fourteen years later, the number was less than two thousand. But not nearly all these were brought by the Associates.

* During the interval between Champlain's death and the arrival of his successor there was a temporary Governor, *M. Bras-de-fer de Chasteaufort*. Also between the departure of the second De Lauson and the arrival of his successor d'Argenson, *M. d'Ailleboust* acted as temporary Governor from 1657 to 1658.

74. When Champlain died, in 1635, the entire colony consisted of about 250 persons. The historian *Charlevoix* says that *Canada* then comprised, a fort at Quebec, surrounded by a few miserable houses and barracks, two or three huts on the island of Montreal, the same at Tadoussac and at a few other places on the St. Lawrence, used for the fishing and peltry trade, together with the beginnings of a station at Three Rivers. In five years more, scarcely 100 were added to the population. Soon afterwards, in 1642, Richelieu, the founder of the Company, died. From that time it did little or nothing towards augmenting the colony. It merely sent out annually a few vessels, with merchandise, to carry on the peltry traffic.

Thus the country was not much indebted to the company of Associates for supplying it with inhabitants.

75. The neglect of the Company in this respect was, in part, compensated from other sources.

Every year the Jesuit missionaries in Canada used to send reports to the Superiors of their order in France. These reports, known by the title of "*The Relations of the Jesuits*," sometimes contained information about the advantages of the country for settling in. The Associates allowed them to be printed and published in Paris, and in the country parishes. The consequence was that a good many people in different parts of France were led to emigrate. Persons of good family and fortune embarked for Canada, from time to time, bringing out with them, artisans, labourers, and dependents, to whom they engaged to assign lands on easy terms. To such persons the Company of Associates conceded tracts of land along the St. Lawrence, to which the name of *Seigneuries* was given.

76. Moreover, minor companies were formed chiefly by pious and wealthy people—for the purpose of founding settlements. In 1641 and 1642, a society, called "*The Company of Montreal*" sent out upwards of 50 able bodied men, equally well fitted to cultivate the ground and to use warlike weapons. Their leader was a noble gentleman named *Maisonneuve*. By him and his companions the Island of Montreal was settled, and the city, called at first

Ville Marie, was founded on May 18th, 1642. In the course of ten years this society brought out more than 200 colonists, including women and children.

77. At the time of the foundation of *Ville Marie*, or soon after, there were already about 20 seigneuries. The most of these had been granted to different persons near Quebec. But there were others in the vicinity of Three Rivers, and of the newly settled Island of Montreal.

Before this period, several religious establishments had been founded at or near Quebec. In 1637, one, named "*St. Joseph de Sillery*," after its founder, was begun at a spot about four miles above the city. In 1639, the "*Ursuline Convent*," and "*Hotel Dieu Hospital*" of Quebec, were established. For the work connected with the religious establishments, as well as for clearing land on the seigneuries, and building houses for the seigneurs, there was need of artisans, labourers, and cultivators. These were brought out from time to time by those who required their services. To shew how considerably the religious orders contributed to the increase of the colony, it is only necessary to mention that the *Sulpicians*, who had acquired the island of Montreal in 1644, afterwards imported no less than 500 inhabitants within the space of five years.

78. Some time between 1650 and 1660, a peculiar mode of supplying the colony with work people was introduced. It was a system which continued use for a long time.

Every ship's captain bound for America, was required to carry out a certain number of young men, called "*engagés*," who were obliged to work for employers in the colony during three years, at fixed wages, with food and lodging. The captains parted with the young men to those requiring them, receiving a certain sum of money in each case to cover the expense of the passage from France. On the expiration of the three years' service, the *engagés* were free to become settlers on the land or to enter into other occupations.

79. To furnish wives for the colonists, young women of good character were brought out under the auspices of religious persons of their own sex. They were at first

selected from among orphan girls, brought up at the general hospital in Paris at the cost of the king, and thence called "*the king's daughters*." Afterwards, in orders to procure persons of strong constitutions, and better fitted to perform the various kinds of work likely to be required in the colonies, the selection of the female emigrants, of this class, was made among the inhabitants of the country parishes.

80. By the various means which have been mentioned, the colony became gradually more and more settled, in spite of the neglect of the Company of Associates and other serious hindrances related in the ensuing chapter. Before the year 1663, when the company was suppressed, the population numbered from 2000 to 2500 souls. *

After this date, it will be seen the increase was much more rapid.

CHAPTER THIRTEENTH.

GOVERNMENT OF THE COMPANY OF ASSOCIATES.— INDIAN HOSTILITIES.

81. The enmity of the Iroquois tribes towards the French colonists and their Indian allies afflicted the colony like a scourge during all the earlier times of its history. Having their head-quarters situated to the south of lake Ontario, where the *Five Nations* occupied five distinct *bourgades*, they were easily able to beset all the water communications of Canada. The Easternmost of the five nations, the *Agniers* or *Mohawks*, frequented the region of the Lake Champlain and the river Richelieu. By these routes they came when they pleased into the St. Lawrence and infested the French settlements. Westwards of the Mohawks, the Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas, could, with equal ease, find their way into Lake Ontario,

* Registers of births, marriages, and deaths began to be kept at Quebec in May 1621. Up to 1640, the number of marriages was 22. Between 1640 and 1663, the number was 180.

and so cross to its Northern shores, or descend into the lower St. Lawrence.

In the time of their greatest strength these tribes could muster upwards of 2500 warriors. The war parties which annually assailed Canada seem to have been generally composed of members belonging to several or all of the tribes ; but the whole of the tribes seldom acted entirely in concert in their dealings with the French.

82. In 1627, Champlain so far conciliated the Iroquois that they, for the time, forgave his interference between them and their enemies, the Hurons and Algonquins, and a sort of doubtful peace was settled. But, as the Iroquois were a very restless and ambitious race, they never remained long at peace with any other tribes whose hunting grounds bordered on theirs. In fact, they proved more than a match for the other Indians on all sides of them. The Hurons and Algonquins, also, hated them, and nothing that the French could do served to keep these and the Iroquois friends.

After Champlain's return to the country, in 1633, and throughout the whole period of the governorship of his successor, Montmagny, there was scarcely any cessation of Indian hostilities. Sometimes, in isolated encounters, the Hurons and Algonquins were victorious. But, generally, the Iroquois prevailed. Wherever the Canadian Indians were to be found their implacable enemies came upon them and dealt out death and destruction. The French proved powerless to protect their allies, and could scarcely beat off the attacks made upon their own quarters. * In 1640, the

* The Indians, on both sides, now used fire arms.

Often, the skins and furs brought down by the Hurons, were intercepted by prowling parties of Iroquois, and, instead of reaching the French stations on the St. Lawrence, found their way to the Dutch on the Hudson. The Iroquois were so bold now, and the French so weak, that when proposals for peace were made to them, the people of the five nations insisted that the French should forsake their allies, the Hurons and Algonquins.

Once while a *parley* was going on at Three Rivers between the Iroquois and the French, some Huron canoes with skins from the

Iroquois came in such numbers that the safety of the colony was, for a time, despaired of. In 1643 and 1644, the settlers on the island of Montreal were subjected to constant attacks. They could hardly cultivate the ground without the Iroquois appearing, and cutting off those who did not instantly retire within the enclosures. On the 30th of March in the year last named, Maisonneuve had a pitched battle with them on the spot now called the *Place d'Armes*. Although he defeated them and put them to flight, yet, with his small numbers, he was too prudent to pursue them. M. d'Aillebout, afterwards governor, had arrived in the island with recruits from France and rendered much valuable aid to Maisonneuve. In 1645 a truce, which, however, endured only a short time, was entered into between the French and the Iroquois, at Three-Rivers.

83. In 1646, and several years following, warfare between the Iroquois and the Indians of Canada was waged with extreme ferocity. Many of the French were slain and very great alarm and distress prevailed in the Colony.

Amongst those who were killed, were several priests and a number of Missionaries engaged in converting the Indians. The Mohawks massacred the Jesuit fathers, *Jogues*, and *Massé* in the year last named. In 1648 and 1649, *Daniel*, *Brebœuf* and *Gabriel Lalemant*, were put to death, while serving at their Missionary Stations among the Hurons.

The circumstances attending the end of these devoted men were of a very touching nature. A brief account of them will serve to shew both the spirit which animated the missionaries of those days, and the fiendish disposition of their Iroquois tormentors.

Daniel was in one of the Huron bourgades in July 1648, calling the people to take part in religious exercises. Most of the warriors were absent. A strong force of Iroquois

upper St. Lawrence came in sight. Immediately, the barbarians broke up the conference, leaped into their canoes and pounced upon the Hurons to attack and rob them within view of their French friends.

came upon the place. Most of the people retired for refuge into the rudely constructed chapel, the few defenders being at the palisades. The Iroquois soon broke through these and fell upon the Chapel. Daniel said to the terrified Hurons around him "fly, brethren! as for me, here I must stay, and here I will die." Urging them to flee by the rear of the building, he himself passed through the main door, which he closed behind him, and suddenly confronted the assailants. The truculent Iroquois hesitated for a moment at the sight of Daniel in his missionary robes, thus fearlessly advancing. But soon a shower of arrows and musket



Scalp.

balls put an end to his life, and he fell dead uttering the name of Christ. The Iroquois set the chapel on fire and flung the body of Daniel into the flames.

Brebœuf and Lalemant experienced a more dreadful fate. They were serving at a missionary station, named by the French St. Ignatius, among the Hurons. On the morning of March 16th, 1649, the place was assaulted by about 1000 Iroquois. The Huron warriors, sending away the women and children to the nearest bourgade, called St. Louis, defended the palisades. They desired the two missionaries to save themselves, as war was not their business. Brebœuf told them, in reply, that, at such a time, something more

than *fire and steel* was wanted, which he and his companion alone could administer.

The palisades were soon forced. Brebœuf and Lalemant remaining behind to console the wounded and dying, the surviving Hurons tried to save themselves by flight, while the Iroquois seized the Missionaries and dragged them along into the town. According to custom, their savage captors compelled them *to run the gauntlet*, drawing themselves up in two rows, and dealing out blows upon the missionaries as they passed between.

Brebœuf and Lalemant were then placed not far from each other fastened to posts. The torture of the Huron captives was going on around them.

Brebœuf with a fearless aspect consoled the sufferers, addressing them in their own language, and declaring God's judgements against unbelievers. While some cut off the hands of Brebœuf, and pieces of flesh from his arms,



Tomahawk.

others applied heated iron to the body of Lalemant. Presently, red hot hatchets were connected and hung round their necks like collars. Regardless of the pain Brebœuf continued to speak to his converts and to warn his persecutors. This so incensed these cruel wretches that they cut off his lips and thrust a burning brand into his mouth. Lalemant tried to approach his fellow martyr, but was ruthlessly prevented. When his tormentors had at length tried every species of device without succeeding in causing Brebœuf to manifest the least outward sign of suffering, they tore off his scalp and poured hot water over his head, in mockery of the rite of baptism. They called him, at the same time by his Huron name, saying "*Echon!* you

say that people's reward will be greater in heaven, the more they suffer here ; thank us then for what we make you now endure ! " The narrative, from which the foregoing particulars are taken, ends thus : " The eye of the martyr was now dim, and the torturers, from first to last unable to wring from him one sigh of pain, were eager to close the scene. Hacking off his feet, they clove open his chest, tore out his noble heart, and devoured it ! " *

Lalemant's torments were prolonged until the following day, when a savage, by a sudden blow with his tomahawk, put an end to his sufferings.

84. After the last great attack upon the Huron nation, in 1649, the Hurons were utterly broken up and dispersed. Some fled to join tribes of savages northwards and westwards, others went into captivity amongst their conquerors. The relics of the nation dispersed themselves among the other Canadian Indians, or came in considerable bodies down the St. Lawrence, to dwell under French protection near Quebec.

85. The conquest of the Hurons did not put an end to the Iroquois incursions into Canada, but rather increased them. At Ville-Marie and Three Rivers, they continued to persecute the French with their attacks. The year 1652 was one of carnage and great distress, and, although the French usually succeeded in beating off their enemies from the trading stations, yet they always lost some of their own people while the numbers of their assailants seemed continually to increase. In 1655, the Iroquois came to attack the Hurons who were under French protection near Quebec. Many Hurons had, by this time, been established near the end of the Island of Orleans, within sight of the City. Here numbers of these unhappy refugees were killed or carried off in sight of their protectors.

* Some of Brebœuf's remains were afterwards brought to Quebec, including his head. His relatives in France, who belonged to a noble family, sent out a hollow silver bust, which, with Brebœuf's scull enclosed and placed under a glass covering, is now to be seen at the Hôtel-Dieu Hospital, Quebec.

Such attacks were several times repeated, until the few survivors were brought over and established close to the City.

86. It must not be supposed that the colonists made no efforts to procure assistance against the Iroquois from France. Such endeavours were repeatedly made, through applications to the Court, accompanied by complaints against the Associates. But France was too much occupied with her own troubles at home to give heed to her distant children.

Maisonneuve, however, as well as d'Ailleboust, made visits to France and succeeded in raising some recruits for the colony, on each occasion. These merely served to ward off utter destruction.

The successive governors, Montmagny, d'Ailleboust, De Lauzon and Argenson, proved altogether powerless, with the small forces at their command, to put down those relentless enemies of the colony.

87. At length, towards 1660, the affairs of the country seemed to be on the brink of ruin. The Iroquois were more pressing than ever, and caused it to be intimated that they intended to destroy, or drive away, all the French. In pursuance of this object a large body—said to number about 1200—made preparations for assailing Ville-Marie first, then Three Rivers, and, finally, Quebec.

At all these places the French were thrown into a great state of alarm, but made every possible arrangement for repelling them. Such was the state of feeling everywhere, that nearly all considered the case of the colony hopeless.

88. At this juncture, a remarkable act of heroism gave another turn to affairs.

A band of 44 Huron refugees, passed up the St. Lawrence from Quebec to Three Rivers, and thence to Ville Marie, with the intention of revisiting their ancient hunting grounds. They also meant to do any injury they could to small war parties of Iroquois whom they might fall in with. At Ville Marie a French Captain, named *Dollard*, joined them with 17 followers. The whole then went on together and began to ascend the Ottawa. Near some

rapids, Dollard and his party became aware that the Iroquois were at hand, and threw themselves into a species of fort, on the river bank, formed of the trunks and branches of trees. Their vigilant adversaries soon found them out, and proceeded to attack them, to the number of six or seven hundred.

Instead of making an easy prey of Dollard and his small band of Frenchmen and Hurons, * the Iroquois found themselves repulsed a great number of times. For eight days they continued their assaults with the greatest ferocity, losing many of their people.

At length they effected an entrance into the well defended post. But the survivors would not submit, preferring to sell their lives as dearly as possible.

In the end Dollard and all his band, excepting one or two Hurons, who escaped, perished, after slaughtering a great number of Iroquois.

The gallant resistance made by Dollard and a mere handful of French and Hurons against more than twenty times their number of warriors, made such an impression on the minds of the Iroquois, that they gave up their designs against the colony and moved off to their own settlements with all their force.

The Colony, in fact, was saved. Information of Dollard's exploit was brought to Ville Marie and Quebec by the escaped Hurons and excited the greatest joy and thankfulness. Of course the loss of the band of brave men was also deplored.

89. Some advantage was taken by the Governor, then M. d'Argenson—of the result of the last year's incursion, by sending a Jesuit missionary, named Le Moyne, to pre-

* According to some accounts most of the Hurons who had accompanied Dollard from Ville Marie, had by this time left him. Consequently the whole band consisted of but 18 Frenchmen and perhaps ten or a dozen Hurons.

pare the way for peace with the five nations. The weakness, however, of the French, was too well known to those barbarians. They continued to send forward their war parties as they pleased. The slaughter of French and Indians went on as before so that, it is recorded, in the year 1661, "nothing was to be seen, between Tadoussac and Montreal, but traces of havoc and bloodshed." D'Argenson's health broke down in vain endeavors to protect the colony.

In the mean time, the arrival of a new Governor, M. d'Avaugour, followed by that of 400 soldiers, caused some joy and the revival of the hopes of the inhabitants. * But the best they could do was merely to hold their own, besides, dissensions had arisen among the chief officials, and, to add to the general distress, the country was ravaged by a disease which carried off French and Indians alike. Such was the state of things towards the close of 1662.

* The French Colouists were obliged to have their fire-arms near while engaged upon any work, such as sowing seed, felling trees, and gathering their crops. Sometimes the skulking Iroquois would lie in wait for days together watching for stragglers, and for opportunities of shooting down and scalping Frenchmen. This was particularly the case on the Island of Montreal, where the French had a number of small wooden forts or redoubts for the Colonists to retire into in cases of sudden attack. If the French were careless and went any distance from their enclosures they were almost sure to be fired upon. On October 25th, 1661, a priest named *Vignal*, went with a small party of Frenchmen to examine some works constructed for the Sulpicians on the island. A body of Iroquois like enraged wolves threw themselves upon them, killed several and severely wounded and captured *Vignal* whom they dragged off and treated in the most brutal manner until he died.

Final

CHAPTER FOURTEENTH.

GOVERNMENT OF THE COMPANY OF ASSOCIATES — CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS UP TO THE YEAR 1663.

90. The affairs of the colony, during the time of the Company of Associates, were presided over by the several *Governors* whose names have already been given at the close of our eleventh chapter. The Company itself had the right of appointing the Governors. But for some reason it requested that they should be named by the King. Their commissions were usually made out for three years and then renewed for a like interval, or successors named.

The Governors, in addition to being charged with the oversight of the Company's interests within the colony, were commissioned as the King's Lieutenants and representatives. They commanded the few troops that were then allowed to go out, and were required to provide for the defence of the country against all foes. They also administered justice, in regard to which they had one or two principal officials acting under them.

When the station at Three Rivers was established in Champlain's time, a *Commandant* or local Governor was appointed to command there; also at the island of Montreal, after the year 1642. One or other of these commandants usually became temporary chief of the colony in the interval between the death or removal of a Governor and the arrival of his successor. *

Both the Indians and the French were taught to regard the Governor as representing the king's person and empowered to exercise the royal authority. The Indians styled

* Although Three Rivers was an older established station, that at Montreal took precedence of it.

When Champlain died, in the winter of 1635, his place was filled by the commandant of Three Rivers, *M. Chateaufort*, until *M. Montmagny* came out to be Governor.

After Montmagny, the commandant at Montreal, *M. d'Aillebout* was appointed. In the time of the Associates the court usually appointed a person who was connected with the Company.

Montmagny the "*Ononthio*." To the king of France they applied the name "*Great Ononthio*."

91. The immediate successors of Champlain, to 1663, were for the most part men of talent and courage, and remarkable for their piety.

Montmagny, in the large way of speaking not uncommon in those days, was described as a man "who left behind him an eternal memory of his prudence and sagacity." He, as well as d'Ailleboust, * the de Lausons, and d'Argenson, are all spoken of, in terms of high commendation, by members of the early religious houses, whose writings have been preserved. After d'Argenson, there came, as Governors, d'Avaugour and de Mézy, whom the same writers mention less favourably, on account of differences they had with the ecclesiastics. We are told by them that d'Ailleboust, and the two de Lausons, were "worthy successors of Champlain for their interest in religion and concern for the country." Of d'Argenson it was written "he was an accomplished gentleman, one who always proved himself a model of the rarest virtue."

But notwithstanding their abilities and virtues, these early Governors had so little real power to advance the country's interests, and such a fearful contest to wage with the Iroquois, that the most useful result accomplished by them was to prevent the utter ruin of the Colony. We recal their memory now, chiefly as of men who belonged to "*the heroic age of Canada*." †

92. We have now to speak of the religious affairs. Without attending to these it is impossible for the learner to acquire a correct knowledge of the course of Canadian history. We have seen that the earliest religious wants of the colonists and the duties amongst the Indians were supplied

* M. d'Ailleboust ended his life in Canada. As has been already stated, he acted as Governor a second time, from 1657 to 1658. Then he retired to Montreal where he died in 1660.

† This was said by a modern Governor, Lord Elgin, in reference to them and their successors up to the end of the century.

by members of the Franciscan order called *Recollets*. Then a few Jesuits came out in 1625.

After the ruin of the colony in 1629, and the restoration in 1633, the Jesuits, without the *Recollets*, * performed the religious duties. Up to the year 1659, there was no bishop in Canada.

93. In 1639, the two earliest establishments of female religious orders were founded at Quebec. They were the *Hotel Dieu Hospital*, for the care of the sick, and the *Convent of the Ursulines*, for the tuition of French and Indian girls.

The *Hotel Dieu* was founded by a French lady of rank, the *Duchess d'Aiguillon*. She provided the cost of its construction and endowment, and sent out the first three nurses, or *Hospitalières*, taken out of a religious community of the same kind at Dieppe.

94. The foundress of the Ursuline Convent was "*Madeleine de Chauvigny*," better known as "*Madame de la Peltrie*." She came out at the same time as the *Hospitalières*, and in company with the first superior and two nuns of the future convent.

The foundress and first Superior of the Convent were very remarkable persons, so that the young reader will be pleased to have a few particulars of them mentioned in this place.

Madame de la Peltrie was a very beautiful and wealthy French lady, who was left a widow at the early age of 22 years. She read the *Jesuit Relations*, which have been alluded to before, and by that of the year 1635, her religious fervor in behalf of the Indians was so much excited, that she resolved to devote the rest of her life and her property to the work of providing for the instruction of the young savages of her own sex in Canada, as well as that of the daughters of the French colonists. Her relatives opposed her design in vain, and in a vessel laden with necessaries and furniture for the *Hospitalières* and *Ursulines*, she crossed the Ocean to Canada. She landed at Quebec on

* The *Recollets* did not resume service in Canada until 1670.

August 1st, 1639, and was, with her companions, received by Governor Montmagny, with all the joy and ceremony which it was possible to display. The savages were delighted and astonished on first beholding Madame de la Peltrie, and her companions, clothed in strange garments such as had never before been seen in the colony. Madame de la Peltrie caused the simple Indians to be told that she and her attendants were "daughters of chiefs of France, who, "for love of them had left country, friends, and all the "delights of their native land, to instruct their children "and save them from everlasting destruction." Madame de la Peltrie was of an ardent and romantic disposition, but she never ceased to devote all her energies to the task she had undertaken. After the Convent was built, she erected a small stone house in its vicinity for her own residence. The Convent was burnt down in 1650, but was again rebuilt.

Madame de la Peltrie lived till the year 1671, when she died at the age of 68, having spent 32 years of her life in Canada. The institution which she founded exists to this day. Although it did not effect a great deal in one of its objects—the instruction of Indian girls—it has afforded education to many thousands of the daughters of French colonists in the generations which have followed the times of Madame de la Peltrie, as well as to not a few of those belonging to a different faith.

95. The principal associate of the foundress, and first superior of the Convent at Quebec, was *Marie Guyart*, originally the daughter of a silk manufacturer of *Tours* in Normandy. She also was a widow, left, at the age of 19, with one son, from whom she afterwards separated, to become a member of the Ursulines in her native town.

At the very time when La Peltrie was desiring to go out to Canada, Marie Guyart, at *Tours*, was eagerly wishing to devote herself to the same work—that of assisting to found an establishment of her order among the heathens of New-France. Circumstances brought about an acquaintance between the two zealous women, and Marie Guyart thankfully entered into La Peltrie's design.

She proved to be a person of extraordinary mental endowments, as well as wonderful ability to adapt herself to the peculiar wants of the position she came to occupy at Quebec. This required, among other qualifications, great tact and aptitude for ordinary business.

She, and her colleagues, on arriving in Canada, set about learning the Huron and Algonquin languages. It is recorded that in less than three months she became familiar enough with those tongues to converse with the



MADAME DE LA PELTRIE.

savages, and to enter upon the tuition of the Indian girls. Her instructor was the Jesuit father Le Jeune, the former friend of Champlain—the same whose words in the *Relation* of 1635 had incited La Peltrie to undertake her mission to Canada. *

Marie Guyart is best known by her religious designation of “Ste. Marie de l’Incarnation.” Many of her

* This worthy ecclesiastic has the honor of meriting the title of the *Earliest school master in Canada*. In the year 1632, he had a class of young savages at Quebec whom he instructed with so much zeal and satisfaction to himself that he declared in a letter, “*he would not change his position for that of professor in any University of Europe.*”

letters have been preserved, and prove her to have been a person of immense zeal and great mental ability. They contain a good deal of information of the general progress of the colony.

She lived till the year 1672, when she died at the age of 73. Her decease followed that of La Peltrie within six months and produced a profound impression throughout the colony as she was universally beloved by both French and Indians.

96. The *Hotel-Dieu* at Montreal was begun by *Jeanne Mance* in 1642. The valiant and pious *Maisonneuve* brought her out for that purpose when he came to settle the island and to found *Ville-Marie*. The Queen of France and her court ladies encouraged the undertaking, which was aided with a considerable sum of money by a wealthy widow named *De Bullion*.

A few years later steps were taken which led to the foundation of the establishments of "la Congrégation de Notre-Dame de Montréal." The beginning was made by a nun, "*Marguerite Bourgeois*." The intention was to provide, at *Ville-Marie*, the opportunities furnished at Quebec by the Ursulines. At that time, 1653, there were but fifty families on the island and few children fit to become scholars.

In the year 1658, the foundation was completed so as to be in full operation. It grew in course of time to be a very extensive undertaking, providing education for many thousands of children.

97. About the same time, after numerous additions had been made to the priests and missionaries of the colony, *Maisonneuve* procured the appointment of four more to serve at *Ville-Marie*. Amongst them was *M. de Queylus*, who came out in 1657 to take a sort of charge of religious affairs in Canada. He went to *Ville-Marie* first and then took up his quarters at Quebec.

Small places of worship had begun to be erected outside the city where the settlements were most populous.

De Queylus, however, did not agree well with the Jesuits.

In fact, the need of an acknowledged head over the affairs of the church in the colony was now felt, both by the clergy themselves, and by the inhabitants. It was expected that de Queylus might be placed in that position. But the authorities in France thought otherwise. A member of one of the best French families—*François Laval* of the house of Montmorency—was appointed, with the title of Vicar Apostolic of New France. He had really the rank of a Bishop, and exercised the powers of one in Canada from the first.

Laval arrived at Quebec in June 1659. He was accompanied by a number of priests, who were not of the Jesuit order, and who were soon employed in such a way as to leave the Jesuits free to attend to their missionary work.

From this time the religious affairs of the Colony began to be placed on a more regular footing than before. The inhabitants were required to contribute towards the support of their pastors, at the rate of *one-thirteenth* of their revenues from the cultivation of the ground, or derived from the forest, the chase, or the waters. The amount of this tax gave rise to some difficulties, and it was afterwards altered to one *twenty-sixth* instead of one thirteenth.

During upwards of 30 years after his first arrival, Laval continued to have an influence in the affairs in Canada. He was the first Bishop of Quebec though not regularly appointed, as such, until the year 1672.

98. In connection with this part of our subject, it is necessary to take some notice of a matter which was, in those days, a fruitful cause of dissension amongst the leading officials, and of trouble amongst the inhabitants.

The object which most of the friends of Canada had in view, in assisting to establish the colony, was religion, and especially the conversion of the Indians.

Unhappily the course of traffic, both at the French stations, on the St. Lawrence, and at the Dutch establishments on the Hudson, made the Savages familiar with intoxicating liquors.

The poor Indians became excessively fond of them. The

vice of drunkenness spread amongst their tribes far and wide, leading to innumerable evils.

The consequence was, the work of the missionaries was seriously interfered with. The exhortations and directions of the priests and their office came to be less respected. One of the oldest missionaries, in describing these evils, stated that the fruits of the labour of 28 years were thrown away. Quarrelling, idleness, bloodshed, and excesses of all kinds, among the Indian converts, brought religion into contempt.

The priests exerted themselves against these evils. The governors, generally, and especially Montmagny and his successor d'Ailleboust, punished such disorders with severity. But the Company's agents and traders, caring only for the profits of the fur trade, supplied intoxicating drink to Frenchmen and savages alike.

Laws were adopted prescribing imprisonment, and, in certain cases, the punishment of death.

Some of the governors thought the evils were not so great as the clergy represented them to be. The latter urged that the introduction of ardent spirits into the colony should be entirely prohibited. The traders alleged that if this were done the Company would have no business and that the Indian hunters would carry their furs to the Dutch and English. D'Argenson and d'Avaugour desired to follow a middle course.

The consequence was a good deal of dissension among the authorities.

When M. Laval arrived in 1659, the evils arising from the liquor traffic were at their height. He took part with his clergy. When he could not prevail with d'Argenson to enforce the law against it, he sent complaints to the Court of France and brought about the governor's recall.

The same difficulty occurred with d'Avaugour. After making several appeals to France in vain, Laval went to Paris to lay his complaints in person before the king.

99. The evils arising from the liquor traffic, including the dissensions alluded to, conjoined to the other results, proceeding from the neglects of the Company of Associates

and from the continued hostility of the Iroquois, rendered the case of the colony truly deplorable. Between 1660 and 1663 matters became worse and worse until at length the Court of France was induced to apply a remedy. This was fourfold.

It consisted in suppressing the Company of Associates, * creating Canada a Royal Government, providing more effectually for increasing the number of colonists, and, finally, sending out troops and munitions of war to put an end to the incursions of the Iroquois.

CHAPTER FIFTEENTH.

CANADA IN THE YEAR 1663. — THE NEW FORM OF GOVERNMENT.
— THE SUPREME COUNCIL. — M. GAUDAIS. — UNCOMMON
OCCURRENCES IN 1663.

100. The information contained in the last three chapters shews us what state the colony was in towards the year 1663—the population only about 2000 souls, harassed almost to death by the fierce Iroquois, and its internal affairs, both civil and religious, disturbed by discord.

But her case was now taken in hand by the mother country and a new face altogether put upon her condition and prospects. The first thing to be done was to put an end to the control of the Company of Associates. By a royal edict, dated in February 1663, the king of France took into his own hands all the rights which had been conferred in 1628. The reasons assigned were the company's failure to send out enough of colonists, and its present inability to provide properly either for the settlement of the country or its defence against the Iroquois.

Next, by another edict of April, 1663, New-France was declared to be a Royal government—that is, a Province under the direct rule of the king. To carry out this measure

* The number of members in the Company was now only about 50 instead of 100.

a local governing body was created called the *Sovereign Council*.

Thirdly, to deliver the colony from its immediate and pressing causes of distress, some troops and munitions of war were ordered out to Quebec, along with a number of new officials. These were soon to be followed by a more considerable body of soldiers, under a commander of high rank, with instructions to place all the affairs of the colony on a proper footing, and to destroy, or thoroughly chastise, its enemies the Iroquois. Meanwhile, until these last measures could be carried out, the king granted most of the requests which M. Laval had to make respecting the liquor traffic, and the future management of affairs affecting religion and the Indians.

The fact is, Louis XIV. had then an excellent minister, named *Colbert*, who knew what was good for France and her colonies, and who, now, and for 20 years afterwards, shewed himself a wise and powerful friend to Canada. *

101. The new constitution for the Province was as follows:—All acts of government were to be in the name of the king. A Sovereign or Supreme Council was appointed, consisting of the Governor, the Bishops, and the Royal Intendant, together with an Attorney General, chief Clerk, and four Counsellors named by the three first mentioned officials. The Royal Intendant was to preside and take the votes at meetings of the Council.

102. The principal function of the Council was to sit as a High Court of Justice, but all matters of business affecting the welfare of the country could be considered and voted upon.

* Colbert had great influence with the king, but could not prevent his enormous extravagance, and the long and costly wars undertaken by Louis in Europe, which so impoverished France, and so took up her attention there, that Canada came again to suffer from neglect. The young reader in studying the history of this colony must bear these things in mind, as they greatly affected its welfare and progress.

103. The united assent of Governor, Bishop, and Intendant, was necessary in the appointment of any other member of the council.

104. The respective powers and duties of the Governor, Bishop and Intendant, were not very clearly defined, for king Louis was an arbitrary person, and never was willing for his officers to feel in the least degree independent of his control.



MONSEIGNEUR DE LAVAL.

105. But, to speak generally, the governor's duties were much the same as heretofore. He was the head of the colony, commander of the troops and of such colonists as might serve in the capacity of volunteers, or militia, and took the direction of all affairs relating to intercourse with the Indian tribes and with foreigners. The governor's power, however, was not considered so absolute as formerly in regard to the punishment of criminals, or the decision of questions usually referred to courts of justice. To the colonists, to the Indians, and to foreigners, the governor represented the king's person. In regard to religious affairs, the Bishop had certain powers granted to him, but the

taxation, or system of *tythes*, was under control of the Council.

106. The Royal Intendant was a very important officer, having charge of affairs which in the present day would be entrusted to several departments or boards—such as those of finance, police, public works, trade and commerce.

107. The Counsellors, whose number was afterwards increased from four to *twelve*, deliberated and voted upon all matters laid before the Council.

Such was the governing body by which the local affairs of Canada were ruled for nearly one hundred years subsequently to 1663.

108. The inhabitants were allowed little or no control in regard to the management of any public matters. * All the real power was lodged in the hands of the three principal members of the Council, who were able, also, to exercise some influence upon the conduct of each other's business in their respective departments.

109. Although, as yet, there was no actual Bishop for Canada, M. Laval, as Vicar Apostolic, had the powers and privileges of one.

110. In order to assist in starting the new form of government, a special officer, *M. Gaudais*, was sent out from France. He was to report upon the state of things, to see that the forms required in Courts of Justice were attended to, and to cause every person in the colony to swear fealty to king Louis XIV. M. Gaudais visited Three Rivers and Ville-Marie, and assisted in the establishing of the Courts of Justice in these places. He soon afterwards returned to France.

111. On the 15th September, 1663, the first Governor under the new form of Government, namely *M. de Mesy*, arrived at Quebec. He had been appointed on the recommendation of Bishop Laval, with whom he was on the best terms of friendship before leaving France and on the passage out. But he had scarcely entered upon his office

* At first the inhabitants of Quebec were allowed to elect an official called a *Syndic* or *Guardian of Habitations*.

before he and the Bishop disagreed. Other unpleasant incidents occurred which will be referred to in the ensuing chapter.

112. In course of the year 1663, the inhabitants of Canada witnessed many shocks of *earthquakes*, which were of longer continuance and more violent than have occurred since. During the same year, some remarkable sights had been seen, of which it may be proper to make mention.

In those days the only persons who paid attention to the study of nature were the ministers of religion; the people generally were ignorant, credulous, and superstitious. We have from the historian *Charlevoix*, and also from the *Relations of the Jesuits*, already mentioned, the accounts of those earthquakes and remarkable sights. To begin with the latter, it is recorded that, in the first week of January, there was an appearance in the heavens of two *mock suns*, one on each side of the real sun. Above the three orbs was a sort of crown or arch brightly coloured. The appearance lasted two hours and was such as to excite the notice of all. It was repeated on the 14th day of the month.

A short time before, namely towards the end of 1662, a very brilliant *meteor* had been seen, both at Quebec and Ville-Marie, at which latter place, the spectators beheld it like a great fiery orb passing above and behind Mount Royal. These wonderful sights were followed, later in the year 1663, by a great eclipse of the sun.

Most of the particulars of these natural wonders were placed on record by the Jesuit Fathers, in such a way as to shew, that, although surrounded by forests, and savages, and ignorant people, these men paid attention to events belonging to the science of Astronomy. But the earthquakes of 1663 were more alarming occurrences. They were, it is related, so violent as to change the surface of a great part of the country through which the St. Lawrence flows—altering the beds of smaller streams, producing hollows in some places and elevations of land in others. It is even said that hills and mountains were

lifted up and thrown down in the mass. Yet, wonderful to relate, no human being or animal is reported to have been lost or injured. But the unusual sights and sounds which accompanied the earthquakes are recorded to have occasioned very great alarm.

The narrators, in describing these things, speak with satisfaction of the effects produced on people's minds—saying “when God speaks, man must needs listen. Many hardened sinners have been converted by what they saw and heard.” *

Although the earthquakes were most violent in the commencement, yet they continued, from time to time, during the greater part of the year 1663. A writer in the Jesuits' Relations says they extended over a surface of 25,000 square leagues.

113. The new governor, de Mesy, and M. Laval, were accompanied by a great number of persons, including about

* The celebrated Superior of the institution founded by Madame de La Peltrie gives a particular account of the effects at Quebec. She says “The first shock occurred February 5th 1663, in the evening, when the weather was serene. A great noise was heard, a humming sound, resembling that of heavy carriages rolling swiftly over paved ways. Then we heard, coming from above the earth, and from below, and on all sides, a confused sound, like the rushing of waves, which caused horror. There was a thick dust spread around, doors opening and shutting of themselves, the bells of all our churches and clocks ringing of themselves, steeples and walls shaking like trees in a great wind, domestic creatures howling—in a word, every person and animal so terrified that it was thought to be the eve of the day of judgment. These things, so uncommon, made different impressions on our minds. One lay sister was so frightened that her body trembled for an hour. Some ran out of our monastery, others retired as if to die in front of the altar. In the interval between the first and second shocks we were all ranged in our stalls. We all expected to be engulfed during the night, looking for death at any moment.” To this account is added the statement, that no person was killed, and that extraordinary conversions took place. The writer also said, “a priest has assured me that he alone received more than 800 confessions.” As the French population of the Colony was not much greater than 2000, we must infer that most of these 800 were Indian converts.

100 families of Colonists. With these there were many domestic animals, agricultural implements and seeds. There had not been so great a bustle at Quebec since Champlain, about 30 years before, had returned to his post, after the restoration of Canada to France by England.

CHAPTER SIXTEENTH.

LAVAL, FRONTENAC AND TALON — DE MESY — DISSENSIONS IN THE COUNCIL — MARQUIS DE TRACY, VICEROY — HIS DUTIES—DEATH OF DE MESY — THE CARIGNAN REGIMENT.

114. Referring to the divisions of our subject given in a former chapter, it is seen that Canada, under the *Sovereign Council*, remained a Royal Gouvernement of France for the space of nearly 100 years.

During the first forty years of this time the colony had, besides one Viceroy, six different *Governors*, two *Bishops* in succession, and seven different *Intendants*. *

Although many of these sixteen functionaries were really men of note, in their times, and possessed of noble qualities, three of the number far surpassed the others. These were, Bishop *Laval*, who flourished from 1658 to 1688, governor *Frontenac*, between 1672 and 1698, and Intendant *Jean Talon*. Talon was, to Canada, what the great French

* List of Governors, Bishops and Royal Intendants during 40 years from the establishment of the Sovereign Council :

GOVERNORS.—M. de Mesy, 1663 to 1665.—(M. de Tracy, *Viceroy*, 1665 to 1667).—M. de Courcelle, 1665 to 1672.—Count Frontenac, 1672 to 1682.—M. de la Barre, 1682 to 1685.—M. de Denonville.—1685 to 1689.—Count Frontenac, 1689 to 1698.—M. de Callière, 1698 to 1703.

BISHOPS.—Francois de Laval, 1658 to 1688.—M. St. Vallier, 1688 to 1725.

ROYAL INTENDANTS.—M. Robert, 1663 to 1665.—M. Talon 1665 to 1672.—(M. Bouterone 1668 to 1670).—M. Duchesneau 1672 to 1682 —M. de Meules, 1682 to 1686.—MM. Noroy and Champigny, 1682 to 1703.

minister *Colbert* † was to France, and although he lived in the colony only five years, did a very great deal towards its settlement and progress, then and afterwards.

Of Laval and Frontenac, it is enough to say, in this place, that a full account of their lives and actions would alone form a history of the colony during forty eventful years.

115. De Mesy turned out to be a very different governor from what had been expected by his former friends. He quarrelled with the Bishop and several members of the Council. Some of the latter he sent away to France because they opposed him. The Bishop refused to join him in appointing new members of the Supreme Council.

One subject of dissension was the amount of Church tax or *tythes*. Many of the inhabitants thought the charge of *one-thirteenth* of all their revenues too high, and the governor acted in a way to encourage their discontent. Another subject was the liquor traffic. In the end, the disputes became so extreme, that the governor set the ministers of religion at defiance, and even marched with a body of troops to the Bishop's residence, as if to seize him or do him some injury.

The members of the Council whom de Mesy had expelled complained against him. So also did Bishop Laval. The consequence was that the king recalled this governor and appointed M. de Courcelle to take his place.

116. Just then a Vice-Roy, the Marquis de Tracy, had been appointed by the Court of France to set in order the affairs of all French colonies. He was first to go to the West Indies,—then called the Antilles, —and afterwards to

† Colbert was king Louis' principal minister from the year 1661 to 1683. He caused a great saving of expense in the government of France, made the income greater, increased commerce, encouraged all kinds of works in iron, glass, wool, and silk. He also encouraged learning and the fine arts. The greatest work of those days was begun by him, namely, the making of a canal to join the Mediterranean sea and the Atlantic. He would have rendered France very rich and powerful but for the king's love of warfare, and display.

Canada. When arrived there, he was to bring M. de Mesy to trial on the charges which had been made against him.

117. But before de Tracy reached Canada, in 1665, de Mesy died. Previously to his death he became reconciled to his old friend Bishop Laval.

118. The Vice-Roy arrived at Quebec on June 30th 1665. There came with him some troops belonging to a celebrated French corps, called the *Carignan* regiment, Twelve or thirteen hundred of these soldiers came in the course of that season.

There also came the new Governor, de Courcelle, and the Royal Intendant, Talon, together with many more colonists, animals, agricultural implements, provisions and warlike stores. When the whole had arrived, the numbers and strength of the Colony were nearly doubled.

The inhabitants were delighted with the hope there now was of punishing their fierce adversaries the Iroquois. The savages were both amazed and pleased, when they beheld the good order of the fine soldiers, and the brilliant dresses and manners of the officers.

De Tracy himself appeared before them attended by his staff, guards, valets and pages. The soldiers marched in martial order to the sound of musical instruments. The object was to impress upon the minds of all the people, French and Indians alike, the greatness of the king of France, whom de Tracy came to represent. After a time, savages belonging to all the tribes friendly to the French, came to welcome de Tracy. bringing presents, according to their fashion. The vice-roy received them cordially, and caused them to be told that their common enemies the Iroquois would now soon be humbled.

119. Amongst the animals now brought into the colony were some horses. The savages were exceedingly astonished at the strength, beauty, gentleness, and speed of these creatures ; for only one had ever been seen in the country, nearly thirty years before, in the time of M. Montmagny.

120. In proceeding with the history up to the close of the century, from the date at which we have arrived, it is necessary that we should again, as before, adopt some divi-

sion of the subject suitable to the understanding of the young reader. The affairs of the Colony increased in extent and variety as it grew older, so that it becomes more difficult to deal with them if we go on according to dates alone.

Therefore, we shall narrate separately those events which relate to the defence of the country and the punishment of its enemies. Next, we shall describe the civil and religious affairs, and the general progress, in such manner and order as seem best suited in a work of this kind. These matters will occupy the following chapters and bring our history up to the year 1703.

CHAPTER SEVENTEENTH.

WAR WITH THE IROQUOIS.—FORTS ON THE RICHELIEU.—DE TRACY'S INVASION OF THE MOHAWKS.—RESULTS OF THE EXPEDITION.

121. De Tracy's coming to Quebec, had been preceded in 1664, by a despatch from the king's minister, stating that "His Majesty had resolved to send to Canada a good force of infantry, then or next year, in order to entirely ruin the Iroquois."

Accordingly, besides those soldiers who accompanied the vice-roy, others belonging to the Carignan regiment, arrived in Quebec in the course of the few following weeks, until, in all, twenty-four companies, under the command of Col. de Salières, had landed in Canada.

The vice-roy determined, as soon as possible, to carry the war into the country occupied by the Iroquois, so as to make them feel its evils in their own quarters.

To effect this, some preparations were necessary. As their principal route into the Colony was by lake Champlain and the River Richelieu, de Tracy ordered several forts to be built. One was immediately begun not far from the mouth of that river, called Sorel, after the name of the French officer who directed the works. Next, fort *St. Louis*, better known as *Chambly*, was made, near to the rapids of the Richelieu. A third fort, called *Ste. Therese* was constructed

higher up the river. The first of these forts stood on the site of an old one which had been placed by M. Montmagny and then called Fort Richelieu. The purpose of the forts was threefold ; to afford convenient halting places for the troops intended for the attack of the Iroquois and for storing provisions and munitions of war ; to serve as places of shelter and for war parties to retire upon in case of need ; and thirdly to block up, for the future, the route of the Iroquois invaders.

The whole of the summer and autumn of 1665 was spent in making these and other preparations. While they were in progress, three of the five nations, the Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas, took the alarm. They sent deputies to the vice-roy with professions of peace and friendship. De Tracy received them courteously and accepted their promises. The two nations nearest to the French, the Mohawks (Agniers) and Oneidas, did not send messengers.

122. As early as January 1666, an attempt was made, by a body of several hundred men under M. de Courcelle, to inflict a blow upon the Mohawks. But there was a great deal of trouble taken, and of hardship suffered, without effecting anything against the enemy :

123. Early in the following spring additional troops and supplies began to be forwarded and *batteaux* were prepared for the grand attack. De Tracy himself, although 70 years of age, went upon the expedition. He took with him 600 soldiers, 700 Canadian militia, and about 100 Indians. The chief uses of the latter were to assist in transporting the supplies, and to act as scouts on the sides, in advance of the main force. The aged Vice-Roy was, for the most part, borne along, in the centre of the troops, on a litter or arm-chair.

With infinite difficulty the bourgades of the Mohawks were reached. But they were entirely deserted and many of the habitations burnt. Orders were given to complete the destruction of the settlements, crops, and supplies of maize and other provisions, hoarded by the Mohawks for their winter use. Only a few prisoners were taken. The Mohawk warriors had retired into the forest, with their

families, whither they knew the French could not pursue. As the season was now far advanced, de Tracy gave orders for the retreat, leaving the Oneidas, who occupied the bourgades nearest to the Mohawk settlements, unmolested.

The forts on the Richelieu were furnished with sufficient supplies and garrisons, and de Tracy, with the remainder of his force, returned to Quebec in the month of November.

124. The only loss suffered by the French was on the retreat, when a few men were lost in a storm on lake Champlain.

To the Mohawks, the consequences of the campaign were very severe. Their means of living during the winter had been destroyed, so that those who could not obtain



Calumet.

support from the other tribes were exposed to famine and disease. It is recorded that more than 400 of them perished before the ensuing spring. Having also enemies amongst neighbouring tribes, outside of the five nations, they were liable to attacks beyond their power to resist in their weakened state. Therefore, they and the Oneidas sued for peace.

125. The cruel attacks and depredations committed upon the French Colonists during the past 30 years were now, in some measure, avenged. The Iroquois had learned that their settlements were not beyond the reach of French valour. To save themselves from the consequences of another invasion in the following season, they were glad to accept such terms as the French, chose to dictate. The principal

conditions of the peace were, that they should abstain, in future, from all their customary acts of hostility against the French Colonists and their Indian allies ; that if any causes of quarrel should arise between the latter and the Iroquois warriors and hunters, these should be referred for decision to the "*Ononthio*" at Quebec ; and that they should receive amongst their people Jesuit Missionaries, for the purpose of having them instructed in religion. Thus, without much bloodshed, a peace was happily established which lasted about 18 years.

The Colony being delivered, for the present, from the scourge by which it had been so terribly afflicted, opportunity was afforded of placing on a proper footing all its internal affairs, and those which had relation to the various tribes of friendly Indians.

CHAPTER EIGHTEENTH.

THE CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS OF THE COLONY.

121. The Vice-Roy remained in the colony upwards of two years—from 1665 to 1667, during which period he faithfully discharged the duties which had been confided to him. The civil and religious affairs of the colony were set in order, and measures were taken for placing its future progress, on a permanent footing.

The death of de Mesy, before the Vice-Roy's arrival had made it unnecessary to inquire into all the particulars of that governor's quarrels with Laval and others. But the Councillors whom he had dismissed, were restored to their places. To the new governor, de Courcelle, was assigned the first position in the Sovereign Council, to the Bishop the second, and the third to the Royal Intendant, who was to preside over the body and take the votes.* The people

* It seems that from some cause or other the rank and powers of each of the principal members of the Council were only settled in a temporary way ; for we find, some years later, the old disputes renewed between the Governor, the Bishop, and the Royal Intendant.

having causes for decision were directed to bring them before the Council at its weekly sittings, which were held at the residence of the Royal Intendant. There were then no expenses incurred for legal advice or for pleading cases. The laws for governing the decisions about property and other matters were intended to be the same as those followed in in the kingdom of France.

127. The religious affairs of the colony were regulated on a footing, which, in regard to many essential points, has remained ever since.

The Bishop was the acknowledged head in all church matters.

At first, it was made a question who was to appoint the Bishop or chief ecclesiastic of New France ; subsequently it was settled that the Pope should do so, but that the person appointed should be subject, and swear fidelity, to the king of France. It was also a question whether the priests appointed to serve among the people should be changed from time to time, at the Bishop's will. By a royal decree it was directed that the office of a parish priest should be permanent. Laval himself, although he had acted as head of the church in Canada since the year 1658, was not formally named the bishop until 1672 when he became the first Bishop of Quebec.

The institution called the *Seminary of Quebec* has been already mentioned. It was founded by Laval, to prepare young men for the priesthood. For its support, Laval contributed money, and it was arranged that the church taxes, or tythes, of the inhabitants, should be given to it. In return, the Seminary was to supply the curés or parish priests. Lands were assigned, or acquired for the use of the Seminary, which still exists.

Some years after the foundation of the Seminary, namely in 1668, Laval founded another institution for younger scholars, called the Little Seminary, the instruction to be conducted by the members of the Seminary and to consist of lessons in " Science and piety." *

* The *Jesuits' College*, at Quebec, founded in 1637, had now (1668), upwards of 120 scholars, of whom 60 were resident. In this institution the attempt to instruct young Hurons was commenced.

The Seminary, about 200 years after its foundation, became the *Laval University of Lower Canada*.

X As soon as peace with the Iroquois was obtained, the missionary work of the Jesuits was resumed with greater force than ever. Missionaries were not only sent to different quarters among the friendly tribes of Indians but amongst the Iroquois themselves. The Iroquois converts were removed out of the way of their heathen country men into Canada, and, after one or two changes of place, were permanently established on the bank of the St. Lawrence near the "*Sault St. Louis*." The modern name of the settlement is *Caughnawaga*, where their descendants are to be seen at the present day. In the mean time the other religious establishments, near Quebec and elsewhere, intended for the Indian converts, were continued. At Sillery the *Algonquins*, and at *Lorette*, the remains of the *Hurons* were located under the care of missionaries. The object was to keep up their instruction in religion, and to bring them over to the usages of civilized life.

About two years before, Laval was established as Bishop of Quebec, the Intendant Talon brought back some *Recollets* to Canada. There were disputes about Church matters at the time, and about the liquor traffic. The *Recollets*, as before, offered their services without remuneration. But the Bishop, who seems not to have favoured them, would not assent to their regular employment among the people and the Indians. The *Recollets* had quarters assigned them on the river St. Charles, and, afterwards, a chapel of their own, and a habitation, within the city. They were generally much liked. Several of the Governors were very kindly disposed towards them, and, besides protecting them, contributed to their support.

About the same time, 1670, the pious and valiant Maisonneuve desired to retire from his post on the Island of Montreal. The rights of the original *Company of Montreal* had come into the hands of the religious order of *Sulpicians*, of Paris, who conceded them to members of their own fraternity in Canada. By these they have been held, up to the present day. The members of that order constitute the

Seminary of Montreal. They formerly took some part in missionary work among the heathen tribes, and a *Superior of Missions* resided at Ville Marie.

The arrangement of religious affairs, established in Canada in 1663, and shortly afterwards, became permanently fixed in the country. The missionaries soon prepared numerous and distant tribes of Indians, in the North and West of Canada, for friendship and alliance with the French Colonists. Amongst the native tribes they were able to prevent the extension of quarrels, to promote French interests, and to dispose the minds of the chiefs and warriors against favouring the English Colonists. In these ways they rendered good service to the state, because the feelings of the colonists of the two mother countries were roused against each other through the frequent wars between them in Europe. The English traders, also, were in the habit of endeavouring to draw away the traffic in furs.

The most famous of the missionaries, belonging to the times now referred to, were, *Garnier*, *Carheil*, *Milet*, and *Lamberville*, amongst the Iroquois ; and *Allouez*, *Nicolas*, *Marquette* and *Claude Dablon*, amongst the Indians of the Ottawa and lake regions and of Illinois.

If it had not been for the liquor traffic, already mentioned, the religious affairs of the colony, in regard to the Indians, and the work of the missionaries amongst the tribes, would have been more prosperous than they were.

We must now speak of general progress, the settlement of the country, commerce, and other matters.

CHAPTER NINETEENTH.

PROGRESS OF THE COUNTRY, ITS POPULATION, OCCUPATION OF LANDS, COMMERCE, UNDER COLBERT AND TALON.

128. Before the Vice-Roy left Canada in 1667, the Colony of New-France had made a fair start. Its population was already doubled. The wise arrangements of Talon, the Intendant, in Canada, supported by Colbert, the minister,

in France, soon effected a great change in the progress and prospects of the Colony.

Canada would have soon become prosperous and strong, if their plans had been properly followed up. It was the endeavour of the Intendant and the minister to place her, as soon as possible, beyond the reach of such troubles, as those under which she had nearly sunk, and from which she had been lately rescued.

Within three years of Talon's arrival the population was raised to the number of 5870, in 1139 families.

129. While de Tracy was engaged in the preparation and the execution of his measures for chastising the Iroquois, Talon occupied himself diligently in providing for the settlement of the numerous colonists whom Colbert caused to emigrate from France. The new comers were located mostly in the neighbourhood of Quebec, on lands assigned before hand. They were then required, in addition to the work they performed for themselves under the Intendant's directions, to clear small lots, and erect habitations, for the reception of those expected to come out in the following years. These, in their turn, did the same for succeeding emigrants. Thus every family, on its arrival in the country, found a home, and partially cleared lands, ready for its use. Provisions, and other necessaries not possessed by them, were supplied to the emigrants, until they could do for themselves.

130. To show, by example, the best mode of proceeding to overcome the first difficulties of setting on new land, Talon himself bought several tracts. He placed settlers on them, so as to form the beginnings of several villages. In this way, the villages of *Bourg-Louis*, *Charles-Bourg*, and a number of other small places, not far from Quebec, were founded by the Intendant.

131. An excellent plan of the French Minister and the Intendant, for increasing the inhabitants, and at the same time providing for the defence of the country, was adopted with the consent of the king. This was, to induce the officers and soldiers of the Carignan regiment to remain in Canada, instead of returning to France, when the war with

the Iroquois was finished. Each officer who was willing to become a Canadian Seigneur was allowed a certain quantity of land. The soldiers were furnished with provisions and money sufficient to start them as colonists. A large number belonging to the Carignan regiment accepted these offers. Others went back to France, but came out again as settlers. Some of the soldiers were settled on the lands conceded to their officers. Others were distributed among the colonists, who understood how to cultivate the soil, and from whom agricultural work could be learned.

It is said that about 1200 officers and soldiers were thus converted into permanent inhabitants of the country. The lands conceded to them were chiefly those in the vicinity of the lately raised forts on the Richelieu. Twelve officers of the regiment became Seigneurs in that quarter, and a few more received grants of land in the other parts. *

To provide wives for the disbanded soldiers and other unmarried colonists, it has been already mentioned that young persons of good character were brought out from France. In such cases, certain amounts, in the form of provisions or of money, were assigned to aid them in commencing housekeeping.

132. Lands were also conceded for seigneuries on the banks of the St. Lawrence, * below Quebec, at and near Three Rivers, and in the neighbourhood of the island of Montreal.

133. When Talon finally left Canada in 1672, there were 6700 inhabitants. The colony continued to grow in population by the sending out of emigrants from France a few

* Each soldier received 100 francs in money, or 50 francs with provisions for one year, the wives an additional amount. The officers received from 600 to 2000 francs apiece.

The grants of land varied from 50 acres up to several hundreds and even thousands. One officer, *M. St. Ours*, had the concession of 98,784 acres.

Many names of Seigneuries, parishes, and places, now in familiar use, were, about this time, those of persons who received concessions of lands, mostly belonging to the Carignan regiment—such as *Sorel, Berthier, Chambly, Verchères, Varennes, Contrecoeur, Boucherville, St. Ours, Longueuil, &c.*

years longer until 1679 or 1680, when scarcely any more came until after the year 1700. In fact, the Intendants who succeeded Talon were not persons of the same ability to further the progress of the country. Moreover, Colbert, some years before his death, which happened in 1683, was prevented, by the state of affairs in France, from continuing to interest himself in the concerns of Canada.

134. While concerned in promoting emigration to the colony, Talon also exerted himself in other ways to forward its growth. He encouraged the cultivation of all the well known grains, and also that of *flax* and *hemp*. He proposed to turn to account the products of the forest and waters, by exporting them to France and to the Antilles. To the former country he sent samples of wood, in the forms of planks and masts, and of various materials that might be used in the king's dockyards. With the Antilles (West Indies—*Martinique, San Domingo, &c.*) he wished to open up a trade, and, for that purpose, despatched from Quebec two vessels laden with cod, salmon, eels, peas, seal oil and other things.

135. Talon also paid some attention to the exploration of the country in search of useful minerals.

136. In those days it was not usual for the people of French colonies to take up manufactures for fear of hurting the interests of the mother country. Talon, however, induced those whom he styled "*his colonists*" to make for themselves many articles of domestic use such as hitherto had been imported. It was his boast that the Canadian colonist "could now raise more grain from the land than he could consume or sell, and, also, could clothe his body, from head to foot, with materials of his own making."

137. From what has been here said of Intendant Talon, the young reader will gather that when he went away in 1672 the colony must have lost a great benefactor, and that he richly deserves an honorable place in the history of Canada.

138. It is necessary here to explain how the Seigneurs and those who occupied and worked the lands, stood towards each other.

The Seigneurs were obliged, by law, to concede portions or lots, on their Seigneuries, to colonists who desired to settle on them. If they failed to do this, then the Intendant, under the authority of the Sovereign Council, could do it for them.

The colonists who acquired lots in this way were called *Censitaires*. Their lots were usually about 100 arpents or French acres, and they paid to the Seigneur a small annual rent. The Seigneurs had a great many privileges in respect of the *Censitaires*. They could call upon them for labour and services, and had the power to punish them for offences and to decide their disputes.

When a *Censitaire* sold his place the Seigneur was entitled to a certain part of the price. The same right was exercised in the case of future sales. The *Censitaire* was obliged to go to his Seigneur's mill to get his corn ground, paying a certain price; but the seigneurs were bound to erect the mills required.

There were other relations in which the Seigneurs and *Censitaires* stood towards each other which need not be particularly described.

The arrangements stated in this article formed a part of what is called "*The Feudal System*" which prevailed in Europe generally, during the Middle ages. Considering the customs and manners of the age, and the usages of the French people at that time, it is thought that the early colonists of Canada would not have prospered under any other system. Some authorities have stated that it was the only one suited to their wants and those of the new country they came to inhabit. The Seigneurs were, for the most part, persons of good family, and the colonists are recorded to have been carefully selected in France from among those best fitted to emigrate.

139. Another circumstance deserves to be mentioned here. Sometimes the colonists, especially the young and active, went away from the settled parts to visit the Indians, to hunt and trade with them. This was not always done on their own account, for merchants, and officials of the

government, * often hired a party of men, and furnished the boats, arms, implements, and merchandise, necessary for expeditions of that sort. When the party returned with the skins and furs procured from the savages, each man received a certain portion of the value.

Frequently young men would be absent a long time, associating with Indians belonging to tribes far remote from the French settlements.

Such persons were styled "*voyageurs*," and "*coureurs de bois*," or runners of the woods.

After 1663, the practice was thought to be injurious to the colony, because the young Frenchmen, instead of settling down and working on the lands, fell into roving habits and cast aside the usages of civilised life. Laws were framed to prevent it, but without much effect. The colony became weakened, and its progress hindered, through the absence of so many Frenchmen scattered among the savage tribes of the west. At one time it was computed that no fewer than 800 of the most active and daring young men of the colony were thus absent without leave. Not only the Governor and Sovereign Council, but also the Court of France adopted measures for recovering them. In the after history of the Colony, on occasions when there was danger from enemies, and when the Indian allies of the French were called upon for assistance, those *runners of the woods*, used to return, for a season, in considerable numbers.

In some cases they were found to have entirely adopted Indian modes of life, and even their language.

* About this period persons of noble birth had great difficulty in obtaining means of living in Canada. They could not support their rank, and it had been contrary to custom and the law for such persons to derive revenues from entering into pursuits connected with traffic, or labour of any kind.

The king of France in pity for their case, and on account of the large families which many of them had to maintain, took off the restraint upon them, and they were allowed to traffic in Canada, and to work at agriculture, without being held, as heretofore, to forfeit their rank. We must recollect that this was something in those days, because *nobles* were exempt from many taxes required to be paid by people who had no rank to keep up.



CHAPTER TWENTIETH.

GOVERNORS DE COURCELLE.—FRONTENAC.—DE
LA BARRE AND DE DENONVILLE.

140. During the 24 years from 1665 to 1689, the Colony of New-France was governed by the four persons, in succession, whose names are at the head of this chapter. We must now relate the events most worthy of remembrance which occurred in that period, and in which those officials, owing to their high position, necessarily took a prominent part.

141. *M. de Courcelle*, who was an experienced military man, commanded, under de Tracy, in the expedition of 1666 against the Iroquois. He had already, in the months of January, February, and March, of that year, made an attempt to lead several hundred men against the Iroquois cantons, when, after arriving within 40 leagues of the Mohawks, he saw fit to retreat. Although he failed in this undertaking, he gave such proofs of his courage and powers of endurance that all felt great confidence in him. He was a man of much firmness and tact in dealing with the Indians. Those of Canada liked him, but by the Iroquois he was feared.

He considered it necessary, in the year 1670, to do something that would intimidate the most distant of the Iroquois nations, the Senecas. These people were becoming troublesome again, and were less careful about offending the French and their allies because they supposed they were too far off to be attacked as the Mohawks had been. De Courcelle, however, after making suitable preparations, passed up the rapids above Montreal with a body of 56 men, and arrived at the Bay of Quinté, whence it was easy to cross lake Ontario, and to reach any of the cantons. The Senecas, now fearing they were to be attacked, and seeing that they were not out of reach of the French, at once sent deputies to satisfy the governor of their good behaviour in future.

While engaged in this expedition, de Courcelle perceived how advantageous it might be to have a fortified station

established near the north shore of lake Ontario. He projected one—the same that was built by his successor on the site of the modern city *Kingston*, and which was long known by the name *Cataracoui* and *Fort Frontenac*.

M. de Courcelle, being somewhat advanced in years, injured his health by his exertions in conducting a force, for the first time, to the bay of Quinté. He was recalled at his own request, and left Canada, in company with Talon, in the Autumn of 1672.

It is easy to understand, that, although the prospects of the colony had greatly improved in the course of the past seven years, the colonists were discouraged by the departure of two such men as Talon and de Courcelle. Only a short time before, the feelings of all had been affected by the decease of two of the oldest and most respected of their benefactors—namely Madame de la Peltrie and Marie Guyart de l'Incarnation.

It is also worthy of mention that *M. de la Salle* * arrived about this period.

142. *Count Buade de Frontenac* was the successor of M. de Courcelle. He was an experienced French general, very talented and high spirited. In the course of his governorship, from 1672 to 1682, he fell out with most of the principal officials of the colony, because he was a man of impetuous disposition and haughty manners, unable, or unwilling, to tolerate opposition to his will.

Several remarkable events took place in his time. Amongst these the chief were, the establishment of a fortified post on the north shore of lake Ontario, upon the site of the modern city *Kingston*; the discovery of the Mississippi by *Jolliet* and *Marquette*, made complete by la Salle; and the extension of the French out posts in the lake regions and amongst the western Indian tribes.

143. The object of fortifying a station at Lake Ontario

* La Salle became noted for the part he took in extending the power and commerce of the French in the direction of the great lakes, westwards, and for his discovery of the outlets of the Mississippi, etc.

was to control the navigation, so as to prevent the Iroquois and the English colonists from depriving the French of the fur trade with the western and northern Indian tribes. De Courcelle had already proposed to accomplish this. Frontenac took with him troops, and supplies of provisions and munitions of war, for a garrison. A rude structure was built in the course of a few days, and rendered capable of defence. The Iroquois, who went to meet the governor near the spot chosen, were so delighted with his showy manners and the flattering reasons given by him, that they assented to his design, although in their hearts they did not at all approve of it.

Not long afterwards, La Salle was made Seigneur of a tract of land surrounding the fort, on condition that he would construct it on a larger scale, of stone, and maintain the post. The place was named *Fort Frontenac*, after its founder. It was also known by that of *Cataracoui*, as it was near the mouth of a small river, so called.

La Salle, with the governor's consent, also prepared a small armed vessel for the navigation of the lake, and proposed the erection of another fort, at the other end of Ontario, as well as another vessel, to be placed on lake Erie.

Frontenac thus executed a very important design, because, while the French kept possession of that fortified post, it would be in their power to check the Iroquois, and to see that the western fur trade went down the St. Lawrence, instead of being drawn aside towards the cantons and the settlements of the English colonists.

144. The expedition for discovering the Mississippi was originally proposed by Talon, to whom its existence was known from accounts brought to Quebec by Indians, who stated, that far off, in the west, there was a great river, which ran southwards a long distance, and emptied itself into a southern sea. Talon recommended the undertaking to Frontenac, proposing that it should be entrusted to a Quebec citizen named Jolliet. This was done.

Jolliet proceeded first by way of Montreal and the Ottawa river, to *Michillimakinac*, an island trading post and mis-

sionary station not far from the junction of the three great lakes *Huron*, *Michigan* and *Superior*. There he associated with himself a Jesuit missionary, named *Marquette*, a man well versed in the languages of the western tribes. Thence they crossed the northern part of Michigan to *Green Bay*, and passing through *Fox* river, and the *Wisconsin*, reached the Mississippi on June 6th, 1673. In bark canoes they descended as far as the mouth of the river *Arkansas*, beyond which the dialects known to *Marquette* could no longer be made use of to communicate with the savages of those regions. Their account of the expedition was given to *Frontenac* who forwarded the particulars to France, in the Autumn of 1674.



Canoe.

To complete the discovery of *Jolliet* and *Marquette*, *La Salle*, some years later, passed all the way down the Mississippi to its entrance into the gulf of Mexico.

The French now claimed possession of the territories through which the Mississippi flowed, and gave to them the name *Louisiana* in honor of king *Louis*.

In the report, which *Frontenac* made to *Colbert*, of the discovery of the Mississippi, it was stated that "this great river, discovered lately in consequence of the orders given to me by you, flows through the most beautiful region to be seen in the whole world."

145. *Robert de la Salle*, whose name has been already several times mentioned, had come out to Canada from *Rouen*, in France, in order, like many others, to push his fortune in the new world. Having a genius for commerce, as well as for bold undertakings, he at first established him-

self at a trading station named *Lachine*.* He was in great favour with Count Frontenac who was alleged by some to have a personal interest in La Salle's traffic. His connection with Fort Frontenac has been already stated, as well as the launching of the first ship to navigate lake Ontario. He established other trading posts at *Niagara*, *Detroit*, *Michillimakinac*, at *Chicago*, at the mouth of river St. Joseph amongst the Miamis Indians, and at *Creveceur* amongst the Illinois. To reach these distant places he constructed a small vessel at the lower end of lake Erie, in which he sailed to the upper end, and thence into *lake St. Clair*, which received its name from him. It was La Salle who first proposed to the Minister Colbert plans for colonizing the Valley of Mississippi, of which, under the name of *Louisiana*, he took possession as belonging to the French king. †

146. While those discoveries which have been alluded to were in progress, Frontenac, at Quebec, was making for himself enemies owing to his violent temper and haughty manners. M. Perrot, commandant at Montreal, publicly insulted one of Frontenac's officers who had been sent thither on duty. A priest, named *Fenelon*, belonging also to Montreal, made remarks upon the Governor's conduct, in a discourse or sermon. These two persons he caused to be arrested and afterwards sent to answer for themselves at Paris.

Frontenac had no favour for the Jesuits, nor for Bishop Laval and his clergy, being jealous of their influence in the colony. But he always favoured and protected the Recollets, one of whom he appointed chaplain at Fort Cataracoui.

* It is said he named this place from an idea that beyond it he would discover a route to Japan and *China*. All La Salle's endeavours to penetrate the interior of the continent of America were more or less shaped by that idea.

† La Salle came to a violent end in the year 1687; when he was treacherously set upon and murdered by a discontented follower. He was engaged, at the time, in conducting a party of colonists intended to found the first French settlement in Louisiana.

These things, together with his peculiar manners may have led to a coolness between the Governor and the Bishop, who, himself, was naturally of a high spirit, and somewhat arbitrary. But whatever may have been the private feelings of each, that ancient cause of trouble, the liquor traffic, brought on open dissension. The Bishop and clergy complained that the Governor did not care to put it down, and it was insinuated that he derived advantage from the abuses. On the other hand, Frontenac complained that they exaggerated the evils. Neither did the Governor agree with the Intendant, M. *Duchesneau*, Talon's successor.

It is not necessary to describe all the particulars of these dissensions. It is enough to say that they ran to a great height, especially between the Governor and the Intendant, and that complaints on the subject were transmitted to the court of France.

In the end, both Frontenac and Duchesneau were recalled.

147. But, before the time of their leaving arrived, and while dissension was prevailing among the members of the Supreme Council, the affairs of the colony were gradually falling into a bad condition. Their old enemies, the Iroquois, were becoming more and more insolent and troublesome. They were recovering from the results of the last war, and had been successful in warfare with some neighbouring tribes. They had also persisted in making war upon Western tribes friendly to the French.

Frontenac tried to bring them to reason by remonstrances and threats, and his emissaries in the cantons endeavoured to restore French influence.

At length, in 1679 and 1680, proposals were made for a meeting to be held. In the first instance, Cataracoui was proposed to be the place. The Iroquois refused to send deputies farther than *Chouagen* (*Oswego*) on the south shore of Ontario. Then the Iroquois said they would come to Cataracoui, but Frontenac, in his turn, haughtily refused to go beyond Ville-Marie. In this place a great meeting was held in 1680, in which Frontenac told the Iroquois that he meant to protect all his children. He

referred to the Hurons, Algonquins, Ottawas, Miamis and Illinois. Members of all these tribes had of late been attacked and plundered by Iroquois, while with the Miamis and the Illinois they had waged a fierce war. The Iroquois, as before, greatly admired Frontenac's manners and haughty declarations, and were induced to agree to all his demands, except that of ceasing to attack the Illinois and Miamis.

Such was the situation of affairs when Frontenac was recalled and another Governor appointed in his stead.

148. The affairs of the colony were suffering from other causes at this time. A great many of the young men—at least 500—were absent, having become “coureurs de bois.” These even joined parties of Ottawas and Hurons on expeditions to the English trading posts, south of lake Champlain, carrying along with them skins and furs for sale. The English traders gave a much better price than those at the French posts and supplied merchandise much cheaper. Some of this merchandise even found its way to Montreal and Quebec, which was altogether contrary to the laws.

It was also alleged of public officials that they encouraged such proceedings, and that they themselves derived gains from the traffic.

149. During Frontenac's administration the *small pox* was a great scourge both to French and Indians. Many died of it. Most of the Algonquins of the Sillery Mission fell victims to that disease in 1675. *

150. When Frontenac went home in 1682, the threatening state of affairs caused most of the colonists to regret his recal. Although very much disliked by those with whom he had quarrelled, the people generally, and the Indians, regarded him with admiration and good will. His proud bearing, attended by guards and pages, in imitation

* It was at this time that a mission for the *Abenakis* was established at Sillery. In the same year, the Hurons who had been settled at *St. Foy* were removed to Ancient Lorette, whence afterwards they were taken to *Jeune Lorette*. The *Abenakis* were also removed further from Quebec to the Chaudière Falls. The Iroquois converts were then at Caughnawaga, above Montreal.

of de Tracy, was thought by them to be suitable to his position as the representative of their king. The people also approved of his favouring and protecting the Recollets, whom they liked, and who had offered to serve amongst them without remuneration.

151. Frontenac was succeeded by *M. de la Barre*, a veteran cavalry officer. *M. Perrot*, who had been restored to his command at Montreal, was appointed governor of Acadia, and his place, in Canada, supplied by *M. de Callière*, who now became commandant at Montreal. X

152. Most of the time of de la Barre's governorship was occupied with vain endeavours to induce the Iroquois to remain at peace. They resumed hostilities against the Miamis and Illinois tribes, and scarcely observed any of the conditions they had agreed to with Frontenac. In fact the departure of that vigorous old soldier was a source of encouragement, to throw off all restraint in their insolence towards the French colonists, and in their hostility towards the French allies.

153. De la Barre's instructions were somewhat contradictory and inconsistent. He was directed to avoid a rupture with the Iroquois, but at the same time to adopt measures for curbing their insolence and to protect the friendly western tribes. With regard to the Canadian Indians—the Montagnais, Abenakis, relics of the Hurons, Algonquins, Ottawas and others, upon whom any influence could be exercised, the directions were to bring them over as quickly as possible to French usages.

The same directions about the Canadian Indians had been given to Count Frontenac. He, however, had declared in reply, that the question was not how to convert the Indians into Frenchmen, but, how to prevent many French from becoming savages. This was in allusion to the numerous cases of Frenchmen quitting the habits of civilized life and taking up those of the Indians.*

* Frontenac had also made the severe remark, that he knew of no savages who had ever learned to speak the French language, but of many French who had adopted the customs as well as the language of savages.

154. In the course of 1683 and 1684, the Governor saw clearly that negociations with the Iroquois were useless unless he could support them by some shew of military force. He had only 130 regular soldiers. He therefore applied to the court to send out reinforcements. At the same time he collected about 1200 men, including regulars, militia, and Indians, at Montreal. Directions were sent to the commander at Niagara to cause as many Indian auxiliaries as possible to join him at Fort Frontenac, in order to take part in an expedition against the Senecas. Of all the Iroquois nations, these had most offended in making attacks upon the Illinois and Miamis.

In the mean time, the active Governor of the New York Colony, had proclaimed himself the protector of the Iroquois, promising to support them and forbidding them to treat with the French.

155. Having moved his forces to the north shore of lake Ontario, de la Barre conducted them across to the other side and established them at a place called *Port Famine*. He had previously sent a priest, M. Le Moyne, well known by the Iroquois, to induce them to come and treat with him. Le Moyne came with a number of deputies from the cantons to Port Famine. These, chiefly Oneidas and Cayugas, were scarcely courteous, but agreed to the Governor's demands, excepting the principal one which related to the Illinois. The Governor, whose force was suffering from disease, as well as from the scarcity and bad quality of the provisions, felt obliged to accept the terms of the Iroquois. It is said that he acquiesced in abandoning the Illinois, on condition that the French amongst them should be spared.

After this, de la Barre recrossed the lake and descended the St. Lawrence. ✓

156. The troops were exceedingly dissatisfied with, and even ashamed of the way in which the expedition had been brought to a close. Presently, after the others had gone away, Capt. de la Durantaie, the commander at Niagara, made his appearance on the lake with 500 savages and 200 French Canadians, whom, according to orders he had, with the greatest difficulty, collected. When they found the army

gone, and learned what had occurred, the chiefs were indignant, and all spoke in contemptuous terms of the Governor's conduct.

157. As soon as word reached France, de la Barre was censured and his appointment was cancelled.

158. The next governor was *M. de Denonville*. He arrived in the spring of 1685, and immediately set about making himself acquainted with the exact position of the colony. He had brought out 300 soldiers, who were followed by a like number shortly afterwards.

Although the Iroquois preserved some semblance of peace, the governor saw that they were likely, at any time, to declare open warfare. They continued their attacks upon the western Indians as heretofore. De Denonville sent urgently for reinforcements from France, but none arrived until 1687, when 800 soldiers were brought out by *M. de Vaudreuil*.

In the mean time he made preparations for collecting as large a force as possible at Cataracoui.

159. In 1687, before any hostilities occurred, the governor carried into effect certain instructions which he had received from the Court of France. He had been directed to select, from among any Iroquois prisoners he might capture, a number of robust men, and send them home to work in the king's galleys, like convicts. With the aid of the missionaries, Lamberville and Milet, who did not know what was intended, a number of Iroquois chiefs were induced to go to Cataracoui, as if to a conference. They were seized, bound and sent off to France. The injury was made more intolerable to men of their habits, by keeping them shut up, during their long passage over the Atlantic, in the holds of ships.

It is clear that the Court of France was guilty of a crime in this transaction, and that de Denonville deserved blame for obeying those wicked orders. The affair was followed, after a time, by consequences severely felt, both in Canada and in the New England settlements.

160. De Denonville, who had left Montreal on June 11th, with 800 regulars, 300 Hurons, Algonquins, Iroquois

converts and Abenakis, and nearly 1000 Canadian militia, crossed the lake Ontario to the mouth of the river *Genessee*. Sixty Frenchmen and 400 Ottawas arrived from the West to take part in the attack upon the Senecas. De Callière led the advanced guard. Before reaching the bourgades of the Senecas some defiles were to be pressed through. Here a considerable body of Senecas awaited the approach of the invaders.

On former occasions, when de Tracy and de Courcelle had invaded the cantons, the barbarians had retired into the forest without fighting. The Senecas who were the most numerous, if not the bravest of the Five Nations, acted differently. They sent forward 800 warriors to the advantageous position afforded by the defiles. There a desperate battle took place. Some of the savage allies, especially the Ottawas, took to flight, and the French regulars were thrown into disorder. In the end, however, the French gained the victory and continued their march towards the bourgades.

Charlevoix says of this battle: "The converted savages" and the Canadian Militia did themselves credit, but the "regulars, not much; after the battle, the Ottawas who had shown most cowardice in the conflict, now distinguished themselves by their barbarities on the dead bodies of their enemies." On the French side there were six regulars and Canadians killed and 20 wounded, besides a considerable number of the Indian auxiliaries.

In front of the first bourgade the Senecas made another but brief stand. At the close of this skirmish it was seen that the village was reduced to ashes, having been burned by the inhabitants. Still there remained many thousand bushels of *maize*, and a prodigious number of pigs. The other three bourgades of the Senecas were found deserted.

In order to punish them effectually, the French spent ten days in destroying the *maize*, live animals, growing crops and habitations, but did not pursue the enemy into the forest.

The results of this expedition were disastrous to the Senecas. Before it, they numbered about 10,000 souls, and

were able to furnish about 900 warriors. But now they were speedily reduced to one half their former strength. Many perished of famine during the winter. A great number fled to the mountains or to seek shelter amongst the nearest tribes to the west of their ruined settlements.

Thus de Denonville humbled the formerly powerful nation of Senecas.*

—161. Before returning to Montreal, de Denonville marched to the site of the old fort built by la Salle, which stood on the right bank of the Niagara river, below the great Falls. There he caused a new fort to be built and garrisoned it with 100 men. He also took measures for strengthening other French posts including forts Frontenac, Detroit, Michillimakinac, St. Joseph and St. Louis on the Illinois river. The object was to form a sort of chain of posts to serve the purposes of excluding the English traders, magazines for goods required in the traffic with the Indians, and a line of communication between the French colony and the valley of the Mississippi.

—162. The war with the Iroquois had now begun in earnest. The seizure of their chiefs and the severe chastisement which had been inflicted on the Senecas roused the ferocity of the people belonging to all the other cantons, while the English colonists encouraged their enmity towards the French. During the ensuing 14 years there was no real peace between the latter and the people of the cantons.

—163. The Iroquois, to the number of five or six hundred warriors, came in to attack the fortified places and to ravage the settlements along the Richelieu and were, with difficulty, repelled. On the Island of Montreal, two able leaders, M. de Callière and M. de Vaudreuil, directed the construction of 20 small forts for refuge in case of sudden

* About this period the famous le Moyne d'Iberville performed a series of exploits in Hudson's Bay and on the coasts of Newfoundland. English forts and ships were attacked and captured.

D'Iberville was one of eight brothers, sons of Charles Le Moyne who had come out with Maisonneuve among the earliest colonists of the Island of Montreal.

attack. Ville Marie was surrounded by high palisades. Towards winter the people began to feel as if the country was falling into the horrible state it was in previously to 1663. Alarming news were brought from the French posts in the west, to the effect that the Ottawa Indians and some other of the allies were secretly plotting against the Colony with the Iroquois. The garrison left at Fort Niagara was so weakened by disease, arising from the use of bad provisions, and so many had died, that the commander felt obliged to abandon the post in order to save the lives of the survivors. In addition, the small pox ravaged the country and carried off several hundred victims. * The population of the colony in the years 1688 and 1689 was reduced to less than it had been six or seven years before.

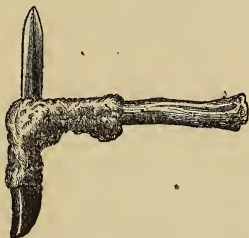
164. Unfortunate circumstances happened in 1688.

The kings of England and France had sent out directions to their respective colonial governors, desiring them to abstain from all hostile acts against each other, and to cause their respective Indian allies to remain also to peace. The New York Governor, Col. Dongan, then advised the Iroquois chiefs to propose terms to de Denonville. They were, compensation to the Senecas, the restoration of the Iroquois warriors who had been carried off to France, as well as all other captives in the hands of the French or of their allies, and to do away with Forts Niagara and Frontenac. De Denonville received the Iroquois deputies at Three Rivers and agreed to the conditions relating to prisoners and to the forts. The negotiations about the other points were not completed and the Iroquois ambassadors returned for further instructions from their own people. Just at this time a renowned but very deceitful Huron chief, named *Kondiaronk*, fell in with the party of Iroquois, having lain in wait for them. Suddenly he and his followers attacked them. Some of the attendants of the ambassadors were killed and wounded. All at once, when informed of their character and business, Kondiaronk

* Some accounts state, 1400 deaths among the French and many more of the Indians.

pretended surprise, stating that the "Ononthio" himself had ordered him to assail them. The Iroquois were completely deceived by the Huron's explanations.

The result of this and other acts of treachery on the part of Kondiaronk, who did not wish peace to be made between the French and their enemies, was, that the people of the Cantons became more excited, and more determined than before, to continue the war. Hostilities were, accordingly, resumed. The Iroquois every



Tomahawk.

where beset the French settlements. More than 1000 of the colonists are said to have been killed by their enraged enemies in the course of that year.

Meanwhile, de Denonville began to run short of supplies of all kinds ; but the Iroquois were furnished with weapons and munitions of war by the English colonists.

165. To enable the young reader to form a clear idea of the deplorable condition and prospects of Canada at that time, we shall quote the words of de Denonville himself: "The enemy like a great many wolves prowl along the borders of the forest. They are subtle, falling back whenever seen by a party able to fight them. One might speak of following them up with hunting dogs. But the only *blood-hounds* for that are the Indians, and these we have not, since the few who seem to stand by us cannot be relied on. The only means of safety consist in having forts

on every seigneurie to shelter the people and their animals. This may save their lives for a season but cannot prevent their ruin, because, when shut up in the redoubts, they cannot feed the cattle. The lands are so separated and exposed that on every clearing a guard is required to protect the workers gathering the harvest. To maintain this war with honor would require 4000 additional soldiers, with provisions for two years, and other supplies."

De Callière, with the governor's consent, went to France to implore succours. He represented to the Court that the only way of saving the French colony was to obtain possession of the English colony of New York, and thus put an end for ever to the continual evil influence of the English over the Iroquois nations.

166. Bad as matters were in 1688, they became worse still for the French colonists in 1689. William the Third was now on the throne of England, so that the English Colonial Governors were released from the orders which James II had given them about abstaining from hostilities. In fact, the two mother countries went to war with each other on account of the exiled king James II taking refuge at the court of France.

167. The crowning disaster of the year 1689 was the "*massacre of Lachine*." On August 4th, in the midst of a storm of rain and hail, upwards of 1200 Iroquois warriors invaded the island of Montreal. During the night they spread in parties among the settlements and commenced an indiscriminate massacre of men, women, and children. The cruelties which they committed were enormous. One author says "they surpassed themselves." Women and infants were *impaled* and burnt. Within the space of an hour, more than 200 persons were thus put to death in the neighbourhood of Lachine.

On the first alarm, M. de Vaudreuil had directions to occupy a structure called fort *Rolland*, with 100 men. He had strict orders not to go out of the fort on any account. About 40 soldiers and as many savages were detached to the support of de Vaudreuil's party; the greater number of these were slaughtered within sight of

fort Rolland. The atrocities ceased only when the pitiless assailants were tired of carnage. More than 200 prisoners were taken and hurried off to the Iroquois cantons to be burnt and otherwise tormented to death.

Never before or since that fatal night has so terrible a tragedy occurred in Canada. When it was brought to a close, the Iroquois overspread the island. For the space of two months they kept possession of the Island, until October, when at length they departed homewards.

168. The news of the Lachine massacre occasioned dismay in every settlement and at every station in the colony. Excepting in some few cases, the French seemed to lose all spirit and counsel, for no where was any effective resistance offered.

Thus, although de Denonville was a courageous and able general, his governorship seemed on the point of closing with the ruin of the country.

Nor was there now any communication kept up with the distant outlying fortified posts. In fact, Niagara had already been abandoned, and orders had, some time before, been sent to fort Frontenac, for the commander there to save his garrison by a retreat to Ville-Marie.

169. At this critical juncture, when all seemed lost, M. de Denonville was recalled to France, while Count Frontenac, still vigorous, although now nearly 70 years old, was sent out to be a second time governor of the colony.

CHAPTER TWENTY FIRST.

FRONTENAC GOVERNOR A SECOND TIME.—MEASURES FOR RESTORING THE FORTUNES OF THE COLONY—"LA PETITE GUERRE."—SIEGE OF QUEBEC IN 1690.—EXPEDITION AGAINST THE IROQUOIS IN 1696.—DEATH OF FRONTENAC.—DE CALLIÈRE GOVERNOR. (A. D. 1689-1703.)

170. Frontenac's return, and his measures, raised people's spirits and soon put a better face on affairs. At Montreal he arranged plans both for the better protection of the island, and for some winter operations against the English

colonists. These were asserted to have been to blame for inciting the Iroquois to make their late dreadful incursions.

171. He had brought out with him, from France, the chiefs who had been so cruelly and unjustly carried off into captivity. With all the art he could use, he tried to gain their good will on the passage, and, in a great measure, succeeded. Then he sent them to their countrymen, so that they might use their influence in making them more friendly towards the French colonists.

172. When Frontenac, on his arrival, learned that de Denonville had ordered fort Cataracoui to be abandoned, he at once prepared reinforcements for that place, and sent forward messengers to order the garrison to remain there. But it was too late, for the commandant at Cataracoui had already quitted the post, after destroying such materials as he did not wish to fall into the enemy's hands.

173. Next, he caused three expeditions to be prepared; the first, against the English settlements on the river Hudson, the second against those of the region now named *New-Hampshire*, and the third against some fortified stations situated at *Casco Bay*, near the mouth of the river *Kennebec*.

The accounts of these expeditions, which started in the month of January 1690, from Montreal, Three Rivers and Quebec, respectively, shew us what a fearful thing it was for the colonists of those days to be exposed to *raids*. The French colonists, associated with savages, were skilful in that kind of warfare which has been called "*La petite guerre*." Bands of one or two hundred would sometimes go through incredible hardships, suffering from hunger and cold in the forests, and amidst ice and snow, until an opportunity occurred of falling suddenly upon their enemies.

174. In the winter expeditions of 1690, *Corlaer* (*Schenectady*), and also the town of *Salmon Falls* in *New-Hampshire* were destroyed by fire, and their inhabitants cruelly massacred, with the exception of some, in each instance, who were carried off prisoners. The expedition to *Casco Bay* ended in the capture of the English fortified posts there.

175. But, although, by these undertakings, Frontenac restored some degree of confidence to the French colonists, yet the chief effect was to make the English more active and more hostile than ever before. With a fleet of seven vessels, and eight hundred men, commodore *Phipps* was sent to ravage the French settlements in Acadia.



Indian wigwam.

176. Later in the season, namely in October 1690, the same Phipps came up the St. Lawrence to attack Quebec with a fleet and land forces. He had 35 vessels and about 2000 colonial militia.

Frontenac with surprising energy, courage and skill, defended the place. When summoned to surrender, in the name of king William and Mary of England, he said that he would reply by the mouth of his cannon. An assault

was attempted near the mouth of the river St. Charles. Frontenac sent bodies of Canadian militia to oppose the attack, keeping his regulars prepared on the side nearer the city. The conflict ended in the repulse of the assailants. Several attempts, supported by cannonades, were made, but all were defeated. After a siege of eight days, in the course of which Phipps is recorded to have lost upwards of 500 men, the English forces retreated down the river. A great many of the ships never returned to Boston and New York, whence they came, as they were wrecked in the lower St. Lawrence and the Gulf.

177. While these things were going on at Quebec, a considerable army, together with Iroquois auxiliaries, were led by general Winthrop to the attack of Montreal, by way of lake Champlain and the Richelieu. This force, a very great one for those days, had its march arrested before it reached the St. Lawrence. The Iroquois became discontented, the small pox broke out and carried off many, and the difficulties of the way were too great to be surmounted. Therefore, this undertaking, also, completely failed.

178. Frontenac's conduct in defending Quebec from the attacks of Phipps has been much praised. To celebrate his victory a medal was struck in Paris. A church, also, in the Lower-Town, was named, in memory of the occasion, "*Notre-Dame de la Victoire*." *

179. From this time until 1696, Frontenac with unabated vigour, went on with endeavours to repel the Iroquois, to strengthen the French outposts at Cataracoui on lake Ontario, and at other places more distant, and to form plans for baffling the English. He took a great deal of trouble to conciliate the Indian chiefs, by whom he was greatly admired. At the same time, his attention at home was much occupied with squabbles about the liquor traffic,

* One of the first cannon shots fired from Frontenac's batteries against the English, struck the rigging of Phipps' ship carrying away the flag, which fell into the river. This was brought ashore by some Canadian swimmers and put in the Cathedral of the city, where it remained, as a trophy, until the year 1759.

and other troublesome matters. Bishop Laval had long since—after the year 1688—retired from active life. His successor *M. de Vallier* and the clergy, were not generally on good terms with the governor respecting the several subjects of dispute. But in regard to the other public affairs, Frontenac had rendered himself very popular both with the French and the Indians.

180. The Iroquois, however, could neither be gained over from alliance with the English nor prevented from continuing their incursions into Canada. They were, about this time, in the habit of establishing themselves near the entrances of the Ottawa into the St. Lawrence. Every season they formed camps there, remaining on the watch for the Indians from above bringing down the products of the chase for traffic with the French. They also sent parties of warriors in different directions to commit atrocities upon the French colonists. Sometimes they were met by French parties and signally defeated. On one of these occasions, in the part now called *Boucherville*, *Captain de la Durantaye* had a considerable battle with them, and chastised them severely. But, in general, the Iroquois kept up the state of alarm, avoiding great conflicts.

✕ 181. To put an end to all this, Frontenac resolved to do as de Tracy, de Courcelle, and de Denonville, had done before him. He assembled all the force of the colony, which with Savage auxiliaries amounted to more than 2000 men, at the island of *Perrot*, above Montreal. Thence, in July 1696, he move upwards to lake Ontario, and crossed to *Chouagen* (*Oswego*), where he landed and marched against the canton of the Onondagas. Although seventy-five years old he commanded in person, having under him *M. de Callière*, *M. de Vaudreuil*, and *M. de Ramezay*. There was no fighting on this expedition, for the Onondagas burnt their habitations and retired into the forest. All the remaining property and crops were destroyed. De Callière was detached to do the same in the villages of the Oneidas. When all belonging to the French force expected orders to continue operations against the other Iroquois cantons, the old governor would not consent. He thought enough had been done to

bring the Iroquois to reason, and he was afraid to risk his own people's safety by delaying the retreat till late in the season.

The effects upon the Iroquois were the same as before. Their incursions were for a time checked, and they entered into various negotiations.

182. The remainder of Frontenac's governorship was occupied with objects which then seemed the most proper ones to be pursued. First, great plans were devised for attacking, and even conquering, the English colonies. These were now populous enough to have more than 25 000 males able to bear arms, besides a considerable fleet. As France and England were at war, a French fleet and army were to assail the English from the sea while Frontenac should do the same from the direction of Canada. But all that was really done, was to promote the attack of the English colonists by means of the Abenakis, and to carry on the *petite guerre*, already mentioned.

183. The second part of Frontenac's operations consisted in endeavours to carry out two designs, namely, to gain over the Iroquois from the English cause, and to conciliate, as much as possible, the friendship and support of the western tribes. In the former of these, the very best that could be effected was a doubtful neutrality.

X 184. Engaged up to the last in such pursuits, the brave old man, in the 78th year of his age, was seized with mortal sickness and died on November 28th, 1698. Although the defects in his character have been severely censured by some, he was honored with the title of "Saviour of the Colony." He found it, in 1689, on the brink of ruin. With little or no aid from the mother country, he restored its fortunes. His favourites, the Recollets, conducted his funeral, and interred his remains inside their own chapel.

185. A year before, namely, in 1697, peace had been made between France and England.

186. Frontenac was succeeded by *M. de Callière*. This governor followed up the plans of his predecessor in regard to the Indians, and was successful in procuring great gatherings of all the tribes in the years 1700 and 1701, at

Montreal. At least 1300 chiefs and deputies came to the meeting, held in August of the year last named. * A treaty was signed which included all the tribes which had been hostile to each other. All were to give up their prisoners and remain in perpetual friendship.

187. The English colonists, claiming the Iroquois as their allies and English subjects, would not consent to the restoration of the captives held in the cantons, except through themselves. This afterwards occasioned much conference and unpleasant feeling between the French and English governors. But the Iroquois, whether they were sincere or not, desired the French to send them missionaries for their conversion and religious instruction. These subtle people, however, had independent notions of their own. They saw that both parties courted them and that they could give weight to the cause of either. In particular they claimed their lands as their own, and that they owed allegiance to no European king.

188. De Callière, who also was well advanced in years, died at Quebec on May 26th, 1703. Although he had lived to see some of the principal aims of his late commander carried out to a successful issue, yet, before his death, the two mother countries were again involved in war. His last days, therefore, were occupied in making arrangements for the defence of the colony against the English, who were reported to be preparing great expeditions against it, by sea and by land.

189. De Callière was a man of great firmness of character, and his influence with the Savage chiefs was second only to that of Count Frontenac.

* The celebrated Indian chief, *Kondiaronk*, the Huron, nicknamed the *Rat*, died while the meetings were being held, after making a great speech.

CHAPTER TWENTY SECOND.

GOVERNORS AFTER DE CALLIÈRE.—POPULATION.—WHY EMIGRATION WAS NOT CONTINUED.—WHY THE FRENCH KEPT NEAR THE ANCIENT SETTLEMENTS.—BOUNDARIES.—HOSTILE INCURSIONS.—ENGLISH AND FRENCH COLONISTS.—MUTUAL FEELINGS. (A. D. 1703-1754.)

190. During about half a century from the time of de Callière, Canada had four regular governors in succession. These were, *M. de Vaudreuil*, *M. de Beauharnois*, *M. de la Jonquière*, and *M. Duquesne*. In that time the progress in population was nearly four fold, as it was increased from about 13,000 to upwards of 50,000. The increase, however, did not proceed from the bringing out of emigrants from France. This had ceased altogether when warfare commenced, and when the affairs of the colony were falling into such a bad condition, in 1685. After 1700, to about 1723 or 1724, there were perhaps 1000 new colonists, almost all of them *soldiers*, who were allowed to settle down in the country, instead of returning home to France, at the close of their service in the army.

191. It may be asked why emigration was not renewed, as in the days of de Courcelle and Talon. It may also be asked why the French clung so closely to the neighbourhood of the ancient stations of Quebec, Three Rivers, the Forts on the Richelieu, and Montreal—especially when the Iroquois ceased from their incursions, as they did, for the most part, after the treaty made with governor de Callière in 1701.

In answer to these questions we must say, that the government and statesmen of France had their attention taken up with their affairs in Europe. These, with their great armies and fleets, required all the wealth they could command, leaving nothing for the strengthening of the colony. Besides this, the troubles of the colonists were well enough known to deter people from desiring to come out in numbers. Also the climate, and country, altogether, were

thought inferior to what they had in their own "*la belle France*." *

To create numerous and populous settlements in the fertile regions of Western America, was not an object with the government of France. All that could be done, and all that the Governors and Intendants were allowed to do, was to establish fortified trading posts at different points. These were to keep up some communications with the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi, and to secure from the foreign traders the traffic with the Indians. So far from lending a willing ear to plans for colonizing lands beyond the Island of Montreal, the court several times gave express orders to seek only to strengthen the country near to the ancient stations on the lower St. Lawrence—as Quebec, Three Rivers, Montreal, and the Richelieu. By so doing it might be hoped that the approach would at least be barred against foreign nations, since these could not bring their great ships beyond those stations, which would have to be captured before any thing could be done by them towards possessing the West. In fact, it was not uncommon for people of influence to say that it was not well to "*depopulate France in order to populate the wilds of America*."

Therefore nearly all that was done towards pushing French settlements westwards was owing to the missionaries and their friends in Europe, without the help of the government.

192. By a treaty of peace, in 1697—called the treaty of *Ryswick*—it was agreed that France should retain all her American territories from Maine to Labrador, without Hudson's Bay and the East coast of Newfoundland.

The English colonists however claimed territory, both in the East and West, which the French considered theirs—also sovereignty over the Iroquois country and the valley of the Ohio. Afterwards their claim included all the regions between the Atlantic and the St. Lawrence and

* One of their most famous writers afterwards included in a single phrase the general notion about Canada—for he said it was "*only a few arpents of snow or frozen ground*."

Great Lakes, and as far as the Mississippi. Although commissioners were named to settle boundaries, yet nothing was ever done to satisfy both parties. The French governors, denying the English claims, gave orders to stop all foreign traders, and to seize their goods and themselves, when they came beyond the Alleghany mountains.

Thus there were plenty of causes of quarrel between the colonists of the two mother countries.

The Iroquois, although they usually joined the English, declared themselves independent of both nations.

194. In 1707, and following years, the western tribes broke out into hostilities amongst themselves. The French, under *Cadillac de la Mothe*, who had tried to establish a considerable station at Detroit, took part in those troubles. At the same time the governor de Vaudreuil, encouraged incursions into Vermont and New Hampshire, in the course of which, atrocities, similar to those of Corlaer and Salmon Falls were again committed. † This led to renewed attacks by the English colonists upon Acadia, and to attempts at invasion by the way of Lake Champlain. Port Royal was again taken in 1710, and its name changed to *Annapolis*, in honor of Queen Anne.

195. Towards 1710 and 1711, the English colonists were strongly moved by a feeling which those of New France had entertained as early as the time of Frontenac—namely, that quiet and progress could not be the lot of both, while they dwelt so near each other, on the same continent. The French had formerly thought of plans for subduing the New Englanders. Now, the New Englanders took up the idea that the French must be subdued or driven from the continent.

† Before this time, namely in 1704, a party of French Canadians and Indians, under *M. de Rouville*, attacked a place called *Deerfield*, in Massachusetts, in the winter time. On this occasion about 50 of the inhabitants were massacred and some prisoners carried off, after the place had been plundered and burnt. During several years afterwards the frontiers of New England and Canada were scenes of pillage and bloodshed.

This idea was encouraged by the events and consequences of the great wars between the two mother countries in Europe. France was suffering most. Her resources were nearly exhausted up. The long and costly reign of King Louis XIV was approaching its close. The armies of Queen Anne of England, under Marlborough aided by allies, were gaining great victories. England, now for the first time, began to send out to her colonies considerable bodies of regular troops. It came to be a settled purpose that the North American Colonies of France should be taken away from her.

It will be seen that this was not effected until 50 years later than the time of which we now speak. There was even a long interval of peace and progress in Canada, extending from 1713 to 1744, before the final struggle commenced. But, nevertheless, the colonists of both countries, never receded from their opposite sentiments about boundaries and conquest.

196. In July 1711, a fleet sailed from Boston, under *Admiral Walker*, to attack the French on the lower St. Lawrence, while an army of 5,000 men, under *General Nicholson*, moved from New York and Albany, to assail them by way of Lake Champlain on the Richelieu and at Montreal. At the same time, some western tribes, especially the *Outagamis*, or *Foxes*, took up arms on the English side.

De Vaudreuil contrived to induce the Senecas to remain neutral. The other people of the five Nations joined the English. He could only muster about 4,500 males able to bear arms, with 630 regulars. It was not easy to see how Canada, with such forces, could contend against the more powerful English colonies, in which there were 60,000 males able to take the field. Moreover the aid from England greatly exceeded that which France gave to her people.

197. By great good fortune the French in the west beat the Outagamis and established peace in that quarter. In the lower St. Lawrence, storms dispersed Admiral

Walker's fleet. Many of his ships foundered, and nearly a thousand men were drowned.

About the same time the army which was approaching by Lake Champlain retired.

Thus a very formidable danger was averted.

198. Soon afterwards negotiations for peace were begun between England and France, which led to a treaty between King Louis and Queen Anne, in the year 1713. From this time there was a state of peace between the rival colonies for upwards of 30 years. *

199. De Vaudreuil continued governor of Canada until the year 1725, when, on October 19th, he died at Quebec.

200. Before his decease, the population of the colony exceeded 26,000, and the peace which reigned allowed much progress to be made in other respects. Quebec had become a considerable city with 7000 inhabitants. Montreal had about 3000. There were 82 parishes settled along the banks of the St. Lawrence. Ships were built at Quebec, and sent home to France, laden with *peltry*, *sawed oak*, *tobacco*, *meal*, *peas*, and various kinds of provisions raised in the colony. Stations had been established which connected Canada with Louisiana. Forts at Cataracoui, Niagara, Detroit, Michillimakinac and other principal points enabled the French to control the great lakes and to secure most of the traffic of the western Indians. Such a state of prosperity had never been enjoyed in the colony since the departure of Talon.

201. It should be mentioned here that the traffic in Canada was principally in the hands of a company. This had been established very soon after it had become a Royal Government, under the title of "The West Indian Company." It was now styled "The Company of the Indies." The inhabitants however were at liberty to traffic on their own account with the Indians, provided they paid to the company a certain part of the worth of the more valuable furs.

* See article 220, chap. 23.

The intendants also encouraged road making between the parishes, and various domestic manufactures. Amongst the latter were articles made of *flax* and *hemp* grown in the country.

202. In 1722, vessels of war and merchantmen were built at Quebec and sent to Europe. As many as 19 ships, this year, were despatched to France and the West Indies. They were laden with peltry and the other products already named.

Three years later a sad disaster happened.

It was the custom then for the families of the officers of the colony, and the members of the religious orders, to obtain their linen and various fabrics annually, by a company's ship from France. A large ship, called the *Chameau*, bringing out those supplies, was wrecked in the Gulf. Nearly 300 persons were lost, and all the merchandise. In consequence, there was great inconvenience in the following winter. But, in the end, good came of it. For the people were obliged to find out other ways of supplying their necessities, which they did by having recourse to articles less fine in texture, but made entirely by themselves into garments.

203. The New England colonists were at this time, as has been stated more numerous and wealthy than the French. Those of Massachusetts, alone, could furnish 16 regiments of militia, and 15 troops of horsemen. Those of New York pushed their outposts as far as Ontario. Extending from Albany, they had now a chain of stations reaching to the south shore of the lake. There they built a fort and magazine at a place called *Chouagen*—since Oswego—in order to favour their interests in opposition to the French at Cataracoui.

The French governor objected to this measure. But more than 30 years elapsed before steps were taken to force the English from this advantageous position. In the meantime the Abenakis, always faithful to the French, and quite as brave as the Iroquois, were gradually driven back towards the St. Lawrence. The English had erected forts

towards the sources of the river Connecticut, to cover their movements against these savages.

204. Although it was a time of peace, it was thought advisable not to neglect the means of future defence. Montreal was surrounded by a low wall of stone. At Quebec, fortifications were begun to be constructed on a better plan under a celebrated engineer named *de Lery*. Considerable portions of the walls and other works of that period are to be seen at the present day.

At Niagara, the old fort of de Denonville was pulled down, and a substantial stone one was built on its site. Fort Cataracoui or Frontenac was put into a good state of defence.

205. The loss to the colony, arising from the absence of persons who became *runners of the woods*, continued to be considerable. Efforts to bring them back were made in vain. As beavers became more and more scarce in the old hunting grounds, the hunters went farther away to seek them. The Indians from the North West were in the habit of bringing down beaver skins every season to Montreal—enough to load from 150 to 200 canoes. The estimated value was from three to four hundred thousand francs.

The Indians and *coureurs des bois* were more anxious to take their furs for sale to the English than to the French, as they obtained from the former threefold the price. It is easy to see that this cause made it difficult to prevent a great share of the peltry trade from being lost to the French.

206. When governor de Vaudreuil died in 1725, M. de Longueuil, a member of the famous family of *le Moyne*, became temporary governor. As he was born in the colony, it appears that an application for him to succeed to de Vaudreuil's office was refused by the Court of France.

207. The new governor, the *Marquis de Beauharnois*, arrived in June, 1726. His governorships lasted 21 years. During the greater part of that period the general prosperity of the colony continued, although there were occasional interruptions. These arose from quarrels among the restless tribes of the west, and also from a source very common and

fatal to many in those days—the *small pox*. In one year (1733) this disease was in almost every settlement and village. In 1736 the French under M. *de Bienville* were defeated by some western tribes against which they had marched. This warfare lasted several years.

208. Apart from the interruptions which have been alluded to, the colony made great progress in the time of Beauharnois. The population reached to upwards of 40,000 in 1738. Ship building advanced. Lumber and other products of the forest were exported. Mines of copper and lead were discovered in the lake regions. Iron ore was made use of, a forge having been constructed at the *St. Maurice* for that purpose in 1736. A road was made all the way from Quebec to Montreal along the north shore of the St. Lawrence.

209. But these peaceable improvements were at length brought to a close. Disputes about the intrusions of the English traders into the valley of the Ohio—then called *la Belle Rivière*—and about the boundaries, rose to a great height. The governor made great preparations for a new war, which he saw would soon come.

210. Amongst other steps which had been taken to bar the road of access into the colony from the direction of the English stations near the Hudson, the most important was the commencement of *Fort St. Frederick* or *Crown-Point* on lake Champlain. M. Beauharnois, by the advice of the Intendant, M. *Hocquhart*, selected that site in 1731. It became noted in the subsequent history of the colonies.

216. On the sea side, the French had begun, previously to 1720, to colonize the island of *Cap-Breton*.

On the East coast of that island choice was made of a harbour and site upon which the government of France expended enormous sums. It was called *Louisbourg*, and was intended for a place of refuge for the French shipping, and to be one of the strongest fortified places in the world.

The English also, in 1721, founded a new naval station on the coast of Acadia, or Nova Scotia, which was named *Halifax*.

212. With the Iroquois, M. de Beauharnois as well as his predecessor, had always contrived to be on good terms. As the time of warfare was approaching, the French missionaries amongst them used the greatest exertions to influence them, so that at least they might remain neutral.

213. About this time, under the auspices of governor Beauharnois, the vast regions beyond the great lakes and the river Mississippi were partially explored by *M. la Vérendrye*. He pushed his discoveries as far as the Rocky Mountains. *

214. In addition to causes of ill-feeling between the English and French colonists, which have been described, there was the declaration of war between the mother countries, in the year 1744. The French corsairs on the coast had repeatedly taken English merchant ships and carried them into Louisbourg harbour. The New Englanders suffered a good deal in this way, and, in consequence, resolved to begin by assaulting that stronghold.

A fleet under Admiral Warren assisted by the ships and the militia of New England captured Louisbourg on June 17th, 1745. The French garrison was discontented at the time, owing to some misconduct on the part of their com-

* A short summary of the French discoveries in the interior of the continent will be useful in this place.

Champlain, discovered the River *Richelieu*, *Lake Champlain*, *Lake George* (St. Sacrament), *Ottawa River*, *Lake Nipissing*, *Lake Huron*, *Lake Simcoe*, and *Lake Ontario*.

Nicolas Perrot, and the Jesuit Missionary, *Allouez*, after learning the languages of the natives, extended the knowledge of the interior around the great lakes Huron, Erie, Michigan and Superior, and of the country occupied by various tribes between Michigan and the Mississippi.

Jolliet, *Marquette*, and *La Salle*, still further extended discovery to and along the valley of the Mississippi, *La Salle* having descended the great river into the gulf of Mexico.

Lastly, *M. Vérendrye*, in the time from 1723 to 1747, explored the vast regions between the Rocky Mountains and the lakes Superior and Winnipeg (*Bourbon*), and the country of the upper Missouri. *Vérendrye* was 60 years in advance of American explorers. Before his time, the western tracts between California and Hudson's Bay were unknown.

mander *M. Duchambon*, and another person—*M. Bigot*—who became too famous in after years. The place was surrendered by capitulation. The troops by whom the place was actually taken were the New England Militia.

215. In 1747, while the war was being waged at sea, off the coast of America, a French fleet, intended to recapture Louisbourg, was defeated by the English, who took most of the ships. This fleet was under the command of *M. de la Jonquière*, who had been appointed to succeed Governor Beauharnois in Canada. But instead of then assuming his office, the admiral was taken and sent home to Europe as a prisoner of war.

X 216. Owing to the disaster which befel admiral de la Jonquière, the French Court appointed a temporary governor, *M. de la Galissonnière*. Although he only acted during two years he effected much. He was an accomplished man, as had been his predecessor, *M. de Beauharnois*. He drew up a complete memorial of the condition and natural riches of New France. He caused several forts, especially those named *Gaspareaux* and *Beauséjour*, to be put in good order against the English, at the Isthmus of Acadia. In order to keep up communications with both the valley of the Ohio and of the Mississippi—called Louisiana—he formed, and partly carried out, plans for having chains of fortified posts, extending from Montreal. By looking into the map the reader will see the two great lines—including most of the forts then existing—namely, *Frontenac, Toronto, Detroit, des Miamis, St. Joseph, Chicago, Crevecœur, Chartres*—also, extending southwards, *Niagara, Presqu'isle, de Bœufs, Machault* and *Duquesne*. De la Galissonnière stationed several hundred men on the banks of the river Ohio—then called *la Belle Rivière*—to keep out the New England traders.

He was recalled to France in 1749, when la Jonquière recovered his liberty.

217. The period between 1749 and 1755 was passed chiefly in mutual endeavours, by the French and English colonists, to supplant each other in the valley of the Ohio. De la Jonquière had orders to follow the plans of la Galis-

sonnière. He was an old man and was accused of avarice, and of making profits out of the trade of the west. * He died in May 1752 at Quebec, and was succeeded by *M. Duquesne*, another old seaman. A second time the Court of France declined to appoint as Governor an officer born in Canada. *M. de Longueuil*, son of the one already mentioned, was allowed to act as *commandant* in the interval between the death of la Jonquière and the coming of Duquesne, but the chief office in the colony was refused to him.

Duquesne seems to have acted with vigour to correct abuses and to improve the defences of the country. Great attention was paid to the discipline of the militia, who now amounted to about 12,000 men. Many of these were acquainted with military life, being disbanded regulars, the plan of allowing soldiers to settle in the country, instead of returning to France, being still encouraged. Duquesne, following the example of Galissonnière and de la Jonquière, employed bodies of militia to exclude the English from the valley of the Ohio.

X 218. In 1753 and 1754, collisions, attended with bloodshed, occurred between the English and French in the course of their endeavours to maintain a footing in the valley of the Ohio. The mother countries were not actually at war, although no friendly feeling reigned between them. Louisbourg had been restored to France and was made much stronger than before. The English had now established themselves at Halifax. These two strongholds served as places of shelter for the ships of both nations, and also as harbours of refuge for their corsairs. The constant capture of merchant vessels by these corsairs sustained feelings of enmity between the people of France and Canada on the one hand, and the En-

* The Governors then received very small pay. Less than £300 a year was allowed them to live on and to pay several persons on their staff. The inhabitants began to complain of the conduct of the governors and principal officials for making money out of their opportunities in charge of the public stores, etc.

English colonists on the other. Besides these sources of irritation, there were others, connected with European affairs, which made it certain that the two countries would soon go to war again. While such was the state of affairs, the collisions which have been alluded to happened on the Ohio.

X 219. A party of Virginian colonists commanded by a young officer named *Washington*—afterwards the renowned American general—fell in with a body of French Militia. Washington's mission then was to summon the French to retire from the disputed territory. The latter, whose commander was *M. de Jumonville*, advanced, it would appear, to hold a parley with the English. All at once, Jumonville's party found themselves surrounded and fired upon. The leader and eight or nine of his men were killed.

This event created a great sensation among the French colonists, and even in France. It was alleged to be a *murder*.

Not far from the scene of the occurrence, the English had a fortified station, called *Necessity*, occupied by 500 men. At the French fort *Duquesne*, situated at the confluence of the rivers *Monongahela* and *Alleghany*. *M. de Contrecoeur*, the superior officer of Jumonville, commanded.

Learning what had happened, Contrecoeur sent 600 Canadian militia and a party of Indians to revenge the death of Jumonville. They fell upon the English post, fort *Necessity*, and assailed its defenders from the skirts of the surrounding forest. Being sheltered, the French lost only a few men, but killed eighty or ninety of the English, who surrendered after a resistance of 10 hours. *

* The *Monongahela*, on the banks of which Fort *Necessity* was placed, is one of the tributaries of the river Ohio.

Two copies of the terms, or conditions of surrender, were drawn up and signed by *Geo. Washington*, and the French commander, *Villiers*, a brother of the deceased Jumonville. Both in the beginning and in the last article of the document the death of Jumonville is distinctly called an *assassination*. The English were obliged to give two hostages. One of these was *Capt. Robert Stobo*, who

The capture of Fort Necessity happened on June 28th, 1754.

From this time there was no longer peace between the English colonies and New France.

CHAPTER TWENTY THIRD.

WARS AND TREATIES BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND RELATING TO AMERICA.—TREATY OF RYSWICK IN 1697.—PEACE UNTIL 1702.—WAR UNTIL 1713.—TREATY OF UTRECHT IN 1713.—PEACE UNTIL 1744.—WAR UNTIL 1748.—TREATY OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE IN 1748.—ACTUAL POSITIONS OF THE COLONISTS IN REGARD TO EACH OTHER IN 1754. (A. D. 1697–1754.)

220. The reader cannot rightly understand the course of events in the French and English-American colonies without a knowledge of the wars and treaties between the mother countries. We shall here speak of those only which relate to America between 1700 and 1763.

In 1700, and until 1702, there was peace between the two countries, for a treaty, called "*the Treaty of Ryswick*," had been signed in 1697. By this, all the French possessions in America were preserved to France, the English gave up Hdson's Bay, and, a river, called *St. George*, was fixed as the boundary in Acadia or Nova Scotia. But the treaty of Ryswick settled nothing about the boundaries between the French and English south of Lake Ontario. The cause was, that neither wished to irritate the Iroquois by settling in that way whose subjects they were. The English however claimed them. Next, in 1702, the two countries again quarrelled about European affairs. In 1703 and 1704 the colonists entered into the quarrel and had hostilities, Warfare lasted until 1713 when the "*Peace of Utrecht*" was signed by the mother countries.

was taken to Duquesne and afterwards to Quebec. We meet with this man's name afterwards, several times, in the history of the war up to 1760.

1713.

By the treaty of Utrecht, France lost a great deal in America. Her loss included Hudson's Bay, Newfoundland, Acadia or Nova Scotia, with all the coasts, rivers and islands connected with those regions. She retained the island of Cap-Breton, the islands inside the gulf of St. Lawrence, and the right of fishing on the coast of Newfoundland. There remained to be settled, the boundaries between the French and English colonists outside of Acadia, as well as in other directions, towards the country of the Abenakis, towards the lakes Ontario and Erie, and, west of the Alleghany mountains, towards the Ohio valley. These were left to be attended to by umpires or commissioners. Nothing, however, was really done by them in bringing about a proper understanding. The consequence was that ill feeling was kept up between the colonists of the two countries. The English began to claim all between the sea and the St. Lawrence. Even when the mother countries were not at war, their colonists in America were fighting against each other, or against their Indian allies. On each side, during peace, new stations were occupied and fortified in preparation for the next war. But the mother countries did interfere sometimes and order the respective governors to refrain from hostility.

Next, from 1713, the year of the peace of Utrecht, to 1744, the affairs of France and England gave no pretext for warfare between their colonists in America.

As Cap-Breton had been retained by France, Louisbourg was founded in 1720. At several other places on that island the French established settlements. But many French remained in Acadia although it was ceded to England.

In 1744, by which time Louisbourg was a strong place, the two countries again went to war. Louisbourg was taken by the English in the following year. This war lasted until 1748 and was ended by the treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*. †

† It is common in history to find the treaties between nations named after the places where they were signed—thus we have the three treaties named in this chapter, those of *Ryswick* (in Germany), of *Aix-la-Chapelle* (on the *Rhine*), and of *Paris*, the capital of France.

According to this, Louisbourg was again restored to France and matters in America were put on the same footing as before. Commissioners were again appointed to settle boundaries. But, again, nothing was done by them, for, at their meetings in Paris they could not or would not agree. In the meantime the colonists on both sides were extending their outposts in the directions where they considered their claims good. Thus affairs continued up to 1754. Then happened the occurrences described at the close of our last chapter. In fact the colonists themselves began warfare on their own account and carried it on at least two years before the mother countries saw fit to declare against each other. Nevertheless each sent troops, ships, and munitions of war, out to America, to support its respective colonial subjects.

We shall now be better able to follow the course of events between 1754 and 1763, when Canada was lost to France for ever.

221. To complete this chapter, it is only necessary to state briefly what were the actual positions of the colonists on both sides when fighting began between them in 1754.

First, the French had forts Gaspereaux and Beauséjour, at the isthmus which joins Nova Scotia and New-Brunswick. These were to keep guard against English advances in that quarter. Then the Abenakis, occupying the interior of the region now called Maine, and extending along the northern parts of New Hampshire and Vermont, were supported by the French in standing their ground against the English claiming all their hunting grounds, as far as the St. Lawrence.

Thirdly, to guard against approaches by way of Lake Champlain, the French had a strong post at Crown-Point (Fort St. Frederick) and the various forts along the Richelieu. There was also a strong position, not yet fortified, called afterwards *Carillon* (*Ticonderoga*), which commanded the route from Lake George to Lake Champlain. But the English, on their side, had fort *Lydius* (*Fort Edward*), on the way between the head waters of the Hudson and the south of lake George. They had also their chain of posts

on the route from Albany to Chouagen (Oswego) south of Ontario.

Next, there were the chains of French posts leading to the West, and to Louisiana, and those intended to keep out the English from the Ohio valley, which have been already described.

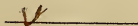
The English, beaten at fort Necessity, had now no stations near to the Ohio region, outside of the mountainous country west of Pennsylvania and Virginia. The nearest was fort *Cumberland*, situated among the Alleghany mountains.

In the interior, towards the region of the great Lakes, the English traders gave much offence, making their way amongst the Indian tribes to traffic.

It must be remembered that each country had its stronghold on the sea-coast—the English at Halifax, the French at Louisbourg. The commerce of both was continually being injured by corsairs or privateers. But though the New Englanders suffered in this way, the greater amount of injury was done to the French, many hundreds of their ships being seized. The English, however, were stronger at sea, and could almost prevent intercourse between Canada and France.

Lastly, although Nova Scotia belonged to the English, the country was occupied by many thousand Acadians. These retained their language (French) and religion, and, of course, had French missionaries amongst them. They naturally clung to their ancient feelings in favour of the nation from which they had sprung. The English greatly doubted their loyalty and disliked the influence of their missionaries.

Such was the state of things between the colonists in 1754.



CHAPTER TWENTY FOURTH.

FRANCE AND ENGLAND SEND OUT TROOPS TO AID THEIR RESPECTIVE COLONIES.—EXPEDITIONS AGAINST CANADA.—ACADIA AND THE ACADIANS.—DIESKAU AND JOHNSON AT LAKE GEORGE.—BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT ON THE MONONGAHELA.—SHIRLEY.—LA "PETITE GUERRE."—WAR DECLARED IN EUROPE.—LORD LOUDON SUCCEEDS BRADDOCK.—MONTCALM AND HIS OFFICERS.—DE VAUDREUIL.—BIGOT.—BAD CONDITION OF THE COLONY OF NEW FRANCE. (A. D. 1754-1756.)

222. Without declaring war against each other, France and England sent out troops and munitions of war to the aid of their respective colonies in the spring of 1755. The French soldiers, numbering about 3400 officers and men, were under the command of Baron Dieskau.

Two regiments of English regulars arrived in New England, commanded by General Braddock.

223. The English colonists determined to attack New France in three directions—by way of Acadia, lake Champlain, and the valley of the river Ohio. Each of these undertakings was attended with events so interesting and important that it is necessary to describe all.

The Acadian expedition was led by Colonels Winslow and Monckton, and that to lake Champlain by General Lyman and Colonel Johnson. The third was conducted by Braddock himself, the chief English commander in America.

224. Colonel Winslow besieged and easily took forts Gaspereaux and Beauséjour. Thus the way was cleared for conducting any future attack through the Acadian isthmus. Some of the French Acadian families had supported or favoured their countrymen against the English. Then a most lamentable measure was adopted with the unhappy Acadians. The English said it was necessary, and that there was no other course open to them for securing their own future safety. * However this may be, the particulars

* The English accounts state, that, although Acadia was made over to Great Britain by the treaty of 1713 (Utrecht)—which was confirmed by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748—yet the Acadians would never take the oath of fidelity as subjects of the

of what was done fill one of the most sorrowful pages in all history. At several points along the coast, in the Bay of Fundy, ships and boats were stationed. These were there for the purpose of receiving and carrying off the Acadian population. Upwards of 3000, in all, were placed on board the English vessels and taken away to different parts of New England. Their lands, dwellings, and animals, were seized in the name of the king of England, to be given to other colonists.*

Some disorders occurred at the places of embarkation, Those who could escape, fled to the woods. Some made their way to friendly tribes of Indians, others, through the isthmus, went along the coast until they found opportunities of reaching Cap Breton or Canada. Those who were carried off were distributed amongst the colonists of Massachusetts. New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and other parts. It

Sovereign of England—The same accounts further state that the missionaries allowed to remain among them encouraged the poor Acadians against the British, assuring them that some day they would come again under the dominion of France. The British, therefore, and more especially the New England colonists, claimed the right of dealing with the Acadians as with rebels to their lawful king and country.

* The number of Acadians thus carried away from their native land has been differently stated by different writers. Some have given it as high as 18000. Others have said about 7000. But it has been lately proved that there were not so many as 7000 French Acadians in the whole country, in 1755. Of these many escaoped in the woods and were not among those carried off. A good many made their way to Cap Breton and Canada. Dr. Anderson, the President of the Quebec Historical Society, has proved, from the lately published *Archives of Nova Scotia*, that the number could not have been more that from 3000 to 3500. The same writer has shewn that if the British had not removed the Acadians they must have themselves abandoned the country. This they were not willing to do. But, nevertheless, it was a very cruel and painful measure for them to decide on removing the inhabitants for ever from the land of their birth. Perhaps, the best that can be said on the subject, is, that war between nations, has caused much misery to the human race throughout the world, and that the fate of the Acadians is one striking example.

is recorded that persons belonging to the same families were, in many cases, separated from each other, and carried away, in the crowded ships, to places whence they could never come together again. Of the fugitives, some formed new settlements wherever they could, and as near as possible to the ancient and loved land of their nativity. It is impossible to read the full particulars without feeling deeply for the sad case of the Acadians.

225. Baron Dieskau, with three or four thousand men, consisting partly of regulars and partly of French militia and savages, went to Crown-Point and Carillon (Ticonderoga). He was to oppose General Johnson advancing from Albany on the river Hudson. Johnson, after placing fort Lydius in a state of defence, marched to Lake George, intending to attack Crown-Point. Dieskau encountered him in entrenchments near the lake but was defeated, wounded, and taken prisoner. His troops retired to Crown-Point. †

This was a very serious blow to the prospects of New-France. The governor, now *M. de Vaudreuil*, son of the one who died in 1725, did all he could to make up for the defeat of the French army. But the forces of the colony were not numerous enough to offer effectual resistance in so many quarters at once. Besides there were other serious difficulties, which will be mentioned hereafter.

226, Braddock's attack in the direction of the Ohio valley was not successful. This general was brave, and experienced in military affairs, as conducted in Europe. But in the woods and mountains of America he knew not how to deal with adversaries such as the French Canadians,

† To account for his own ill success, Dieskau said the Indian auxiliaries had proved unfaithful. Those of Iroquois descent, mostly *Oneidas* belonging to the settlements at the Sault St. Louis (*Caughnawaga*) and Lake of Two Mountains, had, for some time past, shewn signs of unwillingness to support the French against their own kindred, the people of the five Nations, who aided the English. The Abenakis however, were always true to the French, both as scouts and in battle, but whenever Iroquois were seen the other converts on the French side hung back, refusing to fight against those of their own blood.

and Indians, assailing his troops from behind bushes, rocks and trees. General Braddock was also obstinate and would not accept the advice of Washington and other colonial officers who accompanied him. The consequence was, that, after a part of his army had crossed the river Monongahela, to attack the French at fort Duquesne, he suffered a bloody defeat. His brave soldiers contended in vain against the French and savages firing upon them from the skirts of the forest through which their line of march lay.

The French were commanded by M. de Beaujeu, who had only 250 soldiers and militia, with 600 savages.

Braddock himself was mortally wounded. The killed and wounded of his army amounted to 1300, including 63 officers. M. de Beaujeu was killed in the action. The French loss, altogether, did not exceed 40 men.

The New England Militia, under Washington, covered the retreat of Braddock's force, reduced to about one third of its former numbers. *

This defeat of the English left the French undisturbed masters of the valley of the Ohio.

227. Along with the three expeditions against the French—in Acadia, at Champlain, and on the Ohio—a fourth had been proposed, to be directed against Niagara. But this did not take effect. The leader, general Shirley, only went as far as fort Chouagen on lake Ontario, which station he furnished with additional men and supplies.

228. The colonial campaign of 1755 being ended, the French and Indians continued from time to time to harass the English by their favourite method of "*la petite guerre.*"

* The battle of the Monongahela occurred on July 9th, 1755. Part of Braddock's army had been left behind while he with 2000 men marched towards Duquesne. Artillery, stores, horses, cattle and provisions fell into the hands of the French. Washington called it a "shameful defeat."

Among Braddock's papers, taken by the French, some letters written by Capt. Stobo were found. In these, Stobo, detained at Quebec as a hostage, had contrived, some time before, to furnish information about the defences of fort Duquesne. For this, Stobo was tried at Quebec as a spy and condemned. He escaped however.

The effects upon the colonists on the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and also of the northern colonies, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Maine were very severe. Houses and other property were destroyed and people massacred. It is recorded that more than 1000 persons were thus put to death, and many carried off into captivity. The inhabitants of inland villages were glad to flee for refuge into places near the sea-coast.

In consequence of these attacks the English colonists became more than ever roused against the French.

The new governor, Vaudreuil, placed much dependence upon the French Canadian militia throughout the war.

229. In May 1756, about two years after the colonists had commenced hostilities in America, the courts of France and England declared war. For a long time preparations had been made on both sides.

This war lasted, in Europe, seven years, but the struggle in America came to an end three years earlier, namely in 1760. We have now to relate the principal events of that struggle, in continuation from the year 1755.

230. England sent out General Lord Loudon to replace Braddock who was defeated and killed, as has been stated. A number of fresh regiments were also sent out.

France sent out to the aid of her colony 1000 soldiers, together with a supply of provisions, money, and munitions of war. This was the last considerable reinforcement she was willing or able to furnish. As heretofore, she paid attention, almost wholly, to her affairs in Europe leaving the colony to take care of itself. The troops she sent, were either grudging, or were merely intended to support the cause of the kingdom of France against England. They were not so much to protect the colonists of New France, and to fight for them, as to have their help in preserving for old France "*a footing*" on the American continent. A few thousand regulars were thought enough for that object.

231. But with the French troops came a first rate general—*Marquis de Montcalm*—to replace Dieskau, and several other excellent officers. Amongst these, the most noted were, *M. de Lévis*, a brigadier general, *M. de Bougainville*,

a cavalry officer and Montcalm's aide-de-camp, and *M. de Bourlamaque*, an infantry colonel and officer of engineers. These officers brought out instructions to continue as much as possible on the defensive. But New France had so many distant outposts to maintain, and the English had so many troops and militia, that it is difficult to see how they could have followed any other than a defensive system.

232. It is necessary here to describe the characters of the governors, and of the officers mentioned in the prece-



GENERAL MONTCALM.

ding article, and also to explain some particulars about other persons and things connected with Canada at this time. Governor Vaudreuil was a native of Canada—born in Quebec in 1698, and appointed to succeed Duquesne in 1755 at the age of 57. He was governor of Louisiana before he became governor of Canada. He was an amiable and honorable man, but scarcely fitted, in other respects, to rule the colony at a time when it was beset by all kinds of difficulties. He objected to the haughty manners of the military officers from France towards those of the militia, and towards the colonists and Indians generally. The officers of the regular forces considered him wanting in military

talents and too much inclined to be led by counsels of which they disapproved. In consequence, there was but little harmony between him and them during the perilous days of his governorship. His brother, *M. Rigaud de Vaudreuil*, and the Intendant, *M. Bigot*, of whom we shall speak presently, had much influence with him. He proved to be the last governor of the colony under the crown of France.

Of General Montcalm, no more need be said at present than that he was skilful, experienced, courageous, cheerful, and of a highly honorable disposition—but, at the same time, haughty towards those who differed from him, and scarcely careful about shewing his low opinion of the governor's ability.

De Lévis was of a haughty, even *fiery* disposition. He was pronounced by Montcalm to be a very talented man, with an ardent military spirit “indefatigable, brave, and well versed in knowledge of military arts.”

Bougainville † and Bourlamaque were officers of the highest order of merit for holding commands under an experienced chief. Of them, also, Montcalm expressed a very favourable judgement.

Another official, the Intendant *Bigot*, deserves particular mention. He had the care of all the supplies for the army and for the fortified trading posts of New France. He was charged with the money affairs, and those belonging to commerce. But he was so dishonest that he, and those favoured by him, made great private gains while the army and the inhabitants were kept in want of what the government supplied for their use. When the war was over, he was brought to trial in France and condemned to exile, after being obliged to surrender what remained of his ill-gotten gains. Yet he contrived to deceive the easy governor over whom he had influence. He had many persons in league

† Bougainville became a celebrated naval commander after the war in Canada was concluded. He circumnavigated the globe, and became, to France, what the famous Capt. Jas. Cook was to England.

with him, making themselves rich while the colony was in misery. Such were the chief officials during the last days of New France.

233. We have also to explain matters relating to the general condition of Canada at that time.

The warfare, since 1754, had interfered with the proper cultivation of the lands, because the able-bodied men were away fighting, both in seed-time and harvest. Besides this, there were several bad seasons in succession, which made the harvests still smaller. Owing to these causes, and to the conduct of Bigot and his agents, all kinds of provisions became extremely scarce. Those brought out by the merchant ships under Bigot's control were sold to the inhabitants at enormous prices. There was therefore great distress. When the years 1757 and 1758 came, the colony was in a state of famine.

In the meantime the war vessels of England blockaded the entrances into the gulf of St. Lawrence. Thus the aid from France, little as that might be, was rendered smaller still. This cause alone must have ruined the colony at last, even if other events had not done so.

We must add to what has been already stated, that while the adversaries of New France were much more numerous in regard to soldiers and militia, there was no lack of money, provisions, and munitions of war, in the English colonies. We see, then, that the colonists of New France were in a very dangerous position—one that menaced their safety and their very existence. Although the arrival of those excellent officers, with troops and supplies, for a time kept up their spirits, and enabled them to make a good shew of resisting their enemies, yet many of the inhabitants, and especially most of the principal leaders, thought that the downfall was approaching.

We shall go on with the events of the war in the ensuing chapter.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FIFTH.

CAMPAIGNS OF 1756, 1757 AND 1758.—PREPARATIONS FOR THE CAMPAIGN OF 1759.

234. The disadvantages which have been mentioned as belonging to the French side, in comparison with the English, might lead one to suppose that the downfall of New-France would have been easily brought about. But, so far from that, the defence of the colony was vigorously sustained in five campaigns, from 1755 to 1759, before the English could make good their advance into the heart of the French settlements on the St. Lawrence. The events of 1755 have been already described.

235. Little or no progress was made by the English in 1756. They threatened Louisbourg and blockaded the approaches from the sea into the St. Lawrence. They also strengthened themselves at Chouagen, * fort Lydius and fort *William Henry*, † and made various preparations.

On the other hand they suffered a severe reverse at Chouagen and afforded the French time to improve their positions on lake Champlain and elsewhere. During the season of 1756 the Governor caused defensive works to be made in an excellent position commanding the route between lake George and lake Champlain. He called the place fort *Vaudreuil*, but it is better known by the names of *Carillon* and *Ticonderoga*.

236. Until August, the French went on with their works at Crown-Point and Carillon, while the English, not far off at William Henry and Lydius, seemed meditating an advance upon lake Champlain. In the mean time, Mont-

* Oswego.

† This was a fortified post made by General Johnson, at the head of Lake George, on the site of his victory over Dieskau. The name "*Fort George*" was afterwards given by General Amherst to a new fort built on a site near to that of fort William Henry. See map on page 132.

calm, although most of the time present with de Lévis, observing the English and looking after the works going on, caused preparations to be made elsewhere for capturing Chouagen. His lieutenant, Bourlamaque, assembled a force of 3000 soldiers, militia, and savages, at Fort Frontenac, with which he crossed lake Ontario. Montcalm suddenly, left Carillon and Crown-Point under the charge of de Lévis, and joined Bourlamaque on August 10th. The attack upon Chouagen was immediately begun. The English garrison, much alarmed by the yells and gestures of the Abenakis, Algonquins, Ottawas and Nipissings, who formed part of Montcalm's force, surrendered after losing about 150 men. The savages wished to violate the conditions of surrender, and were, with difficulty, restrained from falling upon the prisoners, numbering upwards of 1600.

By this stroke the French took an important position from the English, besides a large quantity of arms, cannon, provisions, and vessels for service on the lake. Montcalm's loss was only 30 men. The fortifications were destroyed.

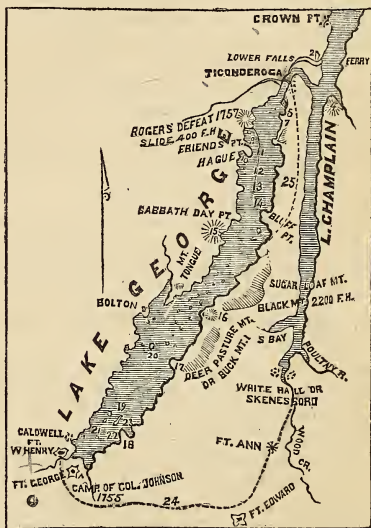
The English did nothing towards recovering their loss during the rest of the season.

237. In 1757 the English again threatened Louisbourg. Troops and ships from New England, united with a fleet from Europe, were intended for the attack of that place. But the expedition accomplished nothing. Meanwhile general Webb had been left to conduct operations against the French, north of the Hudson. He stationed himself at fort Lydius, while another officer, Col. Monro, commanded at fort William Henry. The capture of this position was the chief event of this season's campaign.

238. Montcalm collected an army of 7500 men, of whom about 3000 were regulars, 2500 Canadian militia and 2000 savages, belonging to 33 different nations. Many of these had been induced by their love of bloodshed, and the hope of plunder, to come from remote parts of the west to join Montcalm's army. The first object now was to attack and capture fort William Henry in which there was a garrison of 2500 men.

The English soldiers had a peculiar horror of the savages, of which Montcalm took advantage in order more quickly to bring about a surrender.

When the French forces were in the neighbourhood of the principal point of attack, several terrible scenes of



Map shewing the position of Crown Point, Ticonderoga, (Carillon), Fort William Henry, Fort George, Fort Edward (Lydius), &c.

bloodshed took place. Parties of Canadians and savages found opportunities of falling suddenly upon bodies of English soldiers. On one occasion, when a detachment of 350 men, under a colonel and 10 other officers, was sent out in barges on the lake for the purpose of cutting off some of the advanced French posts, a large body of savages

lay in ambush on the bank. All at once the Indians fired upon the English and threw them into confusion—and then, leaping into the shallow water, massacred officers and men in their boats. Nearly one half of them were slaughtered and scalped, and the others taken prisoners. The terror of the soldiers only increased the ferocious cruelty of the savages.

On the 5th of August, Montcalm's plans for assaulting the fort were completed and he summoned Col. Monro to surrender, stating that, if obliged to take the place by assault, he might not be able to restrain his savages. The English commander hoped for assistance from general Webb,* and defended his post to the last extremity. Then terms of surrender were agreed upon between him and the French general. Monro's men were to be protected from the savages, and to be allowed to retire with their arms and effects, on condition of not serving against France during the next 18 months.

A dreadful scene occurred after the surrender. The savages were not, or could not be, restrained from falling upon the English. In the first instance they went among the officers and men to plunder their effects, when, after some disorder, they were drawn apart. Afterwards, when the English had started on their march to join their countrymen at fort Lydius, 15 miles distant from fort William Henry, the savages hemmed them in on all sides. A scene of tumult, confusion, and massacre ensued which cannot be described. The English soldiers, encumbered by their arms and baggage, and rendered helpless by their horror of the savages, offered very little resistance. Some were murdered and scalped, all were plundered, and many of the survivors seized as prisoners to the savages. Of the 2500 men who had formed Monro's garrison, it is said that scarcely 800 reached fort Lydius.

* Webb sent no assistance. He even advised Monro to make the best terms he could. A letter to this effect was intercepted by Montcalm's scouts and sent in to the English commander to show him how hopeless his case was.

This affair is known in history as "*the massacre of Fort George.*" *

The fortifications were destroyed.

/ 239. In the course of the winter following the capture of fort William Henry, the English government and the New England Colonists formed plans for a decisive campaign in 1758. Louisbourg, and the French posts at Lake Champlain, as heretofore, were to be the principal points of attack. A very popular minister, named *William Pitt*, was at the head of affairs in England. He removed the former chief officers from command in America, and appointed the most able ones to succeed them. He caused a powerful fleet and army to be prepared and sent out early in the season of 1758. His plans were founded on the design of wholly supplanting the power of France in America.

When the time for active warfare came, the French found themselves threatened in four different quarters—namely, Louisbourg, Lake Champlain, the Valley of the Ohio, and Lake Ontario.

\ 240. Louisbourg, before which there appeared 42 English war vessels, with transports, bearing 12,000 soldiers, surrendered after a siege of seven weeks. The land forces were commanded by generals *Amherst* and *Wolfe*. The survivors of the garrison of 7000 men were taken prisoners, the works of the place demolished, and its inhabitants carried away to France.

† 241. In the direction of the Ohio valley, general *Forbes* commanded, having under him Colonel *George Washington*.

* It is claimed for Montcalm and his officers that they did all they could to restrain the ferocious Indians. It is also asserted that the English had supplied the savages with intoxicating drink in order to gain their good will, but which only roused their fierce passions. How many English were actually murdered will never be known, as nearly all the accounts differ. Most of those taken prisoners by the Indians were ransomed and taken care of by Governor Vaudreuil.

Although this affair goes by the name of the massacre of Fort *George*, the reader must bear in mind that Fort *George* did not exist until three years later—See note in page 130.

Forbes advanced upon fort Duquesne with an army of 6000 men. The distance they had to march, and the difficulty of moving through a rugged and mountainous region, made it quite late in the season before they reached Duquesne. In the month of November, when snow had begun to fall, the French garrison destroyed the works of the place and retired, just before the British arrived.

The name of the post was changed to *Pittsburg*, in honor of the English prime minister.

† 242. Meanwhile, a most desperate and bloody encounter had taken place at Lake Champlain, on the 8th of July. General Abercromby, with 6,000 regulars and 10,000 provincial militia, attacked Montcalm at Carillon.* The English General had left behind him his artillery at Lake George, depending upon the number and valour of his troops.

The French, greatly inferior in numbers, were protected in their position by earthworks, and felled trees, having their branches crossing each other, and directed outwards, so as to hinder an enemy attacking in front. On the other three sides, the place was surrounded by water.

Abercrombie, without his cannon, thought to carry this position by assault. But his utmost attempts, renewed from time to time during many hours, failed. The French, behind their breast-work in comparative security, fired upon the British grenadiers and Highlanders. These coming up, again and again, tired themselves out in vain endeavours to penetrate through the defences prepared for their reception. The slaughter was great on both sides. The French, out of their force of 3,600 men, lost 400, as well as 38 officers, killed and wounded. The English loss was not far short of 2,000 men.† In the end, Abercromby, completely baffled, called off his men, and, as night drew near, retreated hastily to the foot of Lake George. Thence, mortified at their unlooked for defeat, the English

* Ticonderoga.

† Some accounts make the number of French engaged much larger. The loss of men on the English side has also been stated as high as 5,000

troops crossed the lake, and fell back upon fort Lydius. General Montcalm gained great credit by this signal victory, while his brave, though obstinate and unskilful opponent was censured and soon afterwards recalled. *

243. General Stanwix and Colonel Bradstreet were sent towards lake Ontario with a force of 4,000 men, mostly Provincial militia. There, a fort was constructed, intended to command the interval between the rivers Mohawk and Onondaga. While this work was in progress, Bradstreet with 3,000 men crossed the lake to fort Frontenac, which he easily captured.

244. The events of the campaign of 1758 were unfavourable to the French cause notwithstanding the brilliant victory of Carillon. The English had now become masters in the Ohio valley, and had again established themselves in the lower part of lake Ontario, so that in the following season the way was open to them to attack Niagara and other French forts in the West. Louisbourg, also, being taken, it was certain that the next great enterprise would be the sending of an English fleet and army up the St. Lawrence, to the Capital of New France. There remained, for the protection of the colony from invasion, the fortified places on the Champlain route and on the Richelieu.

245. The Governor sent urgent appeals to France for further aid. Although a little was obtained in the following spring, Vaudreuil and the military officers were informed that what the court now chiefly expected of them was, to resist as long as possible, and to preserve *some footing* for her on the American continent.

A very bad harvest, extreme scarcity of food throughout the colony, together with the bad management of Intendant Bigot and his agents, discouraged every one. Even the military officers said that, unless the mother countries should make peace, the colony must sink under the evils which surrounded it.

* De Levis was present at the battle of Carillon and by his skilful advice and courage contributed much towards the victory. Bôurlamaque was wounded.

246. The plans for the campaign of 1759 were as follows. A strong English fleet and an army of chosen troops were to attempt the capture of Quebec. Another invasion was to be tried by way of Lake Champlain. At the same time, sufficient forces were to be sent to effect the capture of Niagara and other western posts belonging to the French.

It was further arranged that the troops engaged against the French on Lake Champlain, as well as those by whom Niagara was to be captured, should, if possible, descend the St. Lawrence, to take part in the operations against Quebec.

247. On the French side, the court adopted no other design than to send out a few vessels with provisions and war materials—fearing lest even this assistance might be intercepted by the English, on the passage to the St. Lawrence.

Within the colony, in case of the expected invasions being made, all male persons between 16 and 60 years of age were to join the army. The forts defending the route by way of Lake Champlain to the St. Lawrence were to be given up without fighting, one after another, as the English should move upon them, and the French troops were to fall back.

Fort Niagara was to be reinforced, and the troops of the nearest posts were to proceed to its defence, if necessary. A body of men was to be stationed near the outlet of Lake Ontario to harass any force that might cross the Lake and attempt to come down the St. Lawrence.

Finally, directions were given to the inhabitants below Quebec, to betake themselves with their animals and effects to the forest, for concealment, whenever it should become known that an English fleet was ascending the river. *

Such were the chief plans thought of during the winter of 1758.

* In order to animate the people as much as possible against the invaders, Governor de Vaudreuil had it proclaimed that it would be better for himself and the inhabitants to perish in defence of the country than to fall into the power of the English.

CHAPTER TWENTY-SIXTH.

CAMPAIGN OF 1759.—SIEGE OF QUEBEC.—DEATH OF GENERALS
WOLFE AND MONTCALM.

248. The English had reason to expect that their plans (art. 246) would lead to the destruction of French power in America in the course of the year 1759. They brought into the struggle a great superiority of numbers, and of resources of all kinds. But the vast distances to be passed over in conducting their expeditions, and other causes of hindrance, made their advantages less than they seemed to be. Moreover, the French forces, although almost entirely shut out from communication with France, since the autumn of 1757, made a very gallant resistance, and in this they were well supported by the suffering inhabitants of the colony. The result, therefore, was, that the struggle was not brought to a close until the autumn of 1760.

249. As Commander-in-chief in America, the English minister Pitt appointed general *Amherst*, the same who had commanded the land forces at Louisbourg in 1758.

While the other expeditions, against Quebec and Niagara, were confided to the charge of other leaders, Amherst, in person, conducted the movement against the French positions on Lake Champlain. As has been stated, it was intended for him to force his way through the route of Champlain and the river Richelieu towards the St. Lawrence, and then to descend the river, in order to take part in the operations against Quebec. He could not, however, advance further than Crown-Point during the season of 1759. Being prudent, as well as skilful and resolute, Amherst brought on, with his army, his artillery, munitions of war, and provisions. He therefore made very slow progress. July was nearly ended when he reached Carillon, the scene of General Abercrombie's bloody defeat in 1758. Bourlamaque, the French Commander at Lake Champlain, according to his instructions, retired, without fighting as the English approached. The same thing happened at Crown-Point. Amherst took possession of this place on August 4th, Bourlamaque having fallen back upon ano-

ther position, at Isle-aux-Noix. At Crown-Point, Amherst was obliged to spend two months in making necessary preparations for advancing beyond. The state of the weather and lateness of the season then put an end to the campaign in that quarter.

250. General Prideaux and Sir Wm. Johnson conducted the expedition against Niagara. They moved by way of Lake Ontario, the troops and supplies being conveyed in batteaux, along the south shore, until they reached the point of attack. M. Pouchot, the commandant of the post, refused to surrender. He had sent word to the commandants of the posts to the south of Lake Erie, and at Detroit, requiring them to come to his relief with all the forces they could muster. General Prideaux therefore began a regular siege, but lost his life a few days afterwards, through an accident. Sir Wm. Johnson was proceeding with the siege when he was informed that a force, composed of men belonging to the garrisons of the nearest French forts, and of savages, was advancing to Pouchot's aid. Sir William, leaving men enough to guard his batteries, went to fight them, and a considerable battle took place near the falls of Niagara. The French and savages were defeated, and many of the leaders taken prisoners. * After this the garrison of Fort Niagara surrendered on the 26th of July.

The other French forts, west of Niagara, were easily taken, one after another, by General Stanwix, their garrisons having been weakened by the numbers which had been sent to the relief of Pouchot's command.

X 251. The great expedition against Quebec was entrusted to Admiral Saunders and General James Wolfe, in command of the sea and land forces, respectively.

The armament consisted of 50 war vessels, with many

* Johnson had with him a large body of Iroquois. The French officers asserted that when their Indians perceived the Iroquois, they hung back and would not fight, practising the same sort of treachery as that complained of by Dieskau when he was defeated by Johnson at Lake George. Johnson had immense influence with the Iroquois nations.

transports, conveying eight full British regiments and 1000 marines, and manned by upwards of 15,000 sailors.

Wolfe had been selected to command the troops, more on account of his skill, courage, and other qualifications, than his experience, or length of service, for he was only thirty-two years old. He had served with distinction in European warfare, and, in America, at Louisbourg, under General Amherst. His army, with the marines, numbered precisely 8600 men, well trained, and abundantly supplied with food, clothing, and good arms. * The English minister would have furnished a greater army to Wolfe had that been possible. To make up, in some degree, for the want of numbers, he afforded to the young General the great advantage of choosing his own officers. The army was divided into three brigades, headed, respectively, by General Monckton, General Townshend and General Murray. Of the troops, a body, numbering nearly one-fifth of the whole, consisted of Scotch soldiers, including the well known 78th regiment, or *Fraser's Highlanders*.

The fleet conveyed plenty of artillery, for batteries, and munitions of war of all kinds.

X 252. The English armament met with no opposition on its way up the St. Lawrence, and arrived off Quebec in the end of June. Immediately, the troops were landed, in the first instance, on the south shore of Island of Orleans. Afterwards, in three divisions, they were made to occupy stations judged suitable to the purposes of the campaign. One division, under General Monckton, was posted at Point Levi, opposite to Quebec. Here batteries were erected to bombard the City. Another division was stationed at *Ange-Gardien*, not far from the mouth of the river *Montmorency*, on the left bank. A third station was chosen near to the north end of Orleans, opposite to *Ange-*

* The French officers complained that the arms and equipments given to their soldiers were of very inferior quality. Matters were still worse with the Canadian Militia. Many of these were not supplied with *bayonets*. They were also poorly clad and badly fed, besides which they received no pay for their services.

Gardien. At this third place, hospitals for the sick and wounded were established.

The ships of war and the transports were arranged in divisions a little below Pointe-Lévi, and along the shore of the Island of Orleans.

The positions, thus taken up by the English forces on their arrival, were chosen by the general and the admiral, after they had viewed the nature of the surrounding country, and the plans of defence which had been adopted by the French.



DE BOUGAINVILLE.

253. Governor Vaudreuil and General Montcalm, as soon as it was believed that Quebec would really be besieged, brought together the greatest part of the force of the Colony for the defence of the Capital. A garrison of seven or eight hundred men, gunners, militia, and armed citizens, manned the batteries within the city, and on the heights. The bulk of the army, to the number of ten or eleven thousand men, was stationed behind entrenchments, extending all the way from the mouth of the river St. Charles to the steep bank of the Montmorency. The centre of this position was at Beauport. In front, it was protected by numerous batteries and redoubts. Ships could not approach on account of the shallowness of the water. Troops could not be landed there, in face of an enemy, because of the

deep mud and the marshy nature of the shore below the St. Charles. Within the mouth of the St. Charles, hulks of vessels were grounded, and cannon mounted on them. A bridge of boats connected the line of entrenchments with the city itself. On the heights, behind which the Upper Town stands, and round the point by the way of Cape Diamond, towards Sillery, batteries served to keep the ships of the enemy at a distance. The lofty and rugged bank, forming the north shore of the St. Lawrence at Quebec, and to a considerable distance above, seemed to require only a few cannon and sentinels to be posted here and there, in order to complete the defences.

After the siege had commenced, a body of troops, under M. Bougainville, was placed above the city in the directions of Cap-Rouge, and Pointe-aux-Trembles. This was to prevent the British from landing, and also to keep up the communication with Three-Rivers and Montreal.

In addition to their other means of defence and of annoying the invaders, *fire-rafts*, and small vessels mounted with cannon, as *floating batteries*, were prepared. These, however, proved almost useless.

254. Wolfe and Saunders soon saw how strong the place was which they had come to take. The admiral could not bring his ships near enough to the French lines to do any injury.* The batteries on the heights made it hazardous for ships to approach the north shore, or to pass, in the day time, above the city.

Both the Admiral and the General carefully observed the bank above the city, moving along the south shore in a boat. They perceived no opportunity for landing troops within a

* One of the earliest steps was to take *soundings*. This could only be done in the night time and with boats. *James Cook*, afterwards the famous navigator, was then serving in the fleet, and was employed in taking soundings. He nearly lost his life, for he was seen and chased by some Indians who pursued him in a canoe across to Orleans. Cook had only time to leap ashore from one end of his boat before the savages leaped in at the other. It is curious and worthy of note that a future renowned French navigator was also engaged at the siege of Quebec in 1759, namely *M. Bougainville*.

distance of several miles. They came to the conclusion that their only chance of success would depend upon either inducing Montcalm to lead his troops out to fight, or finding an entrance into his entrenchments and thus bringing on a pitched battle. Montcalm, however would not come out to attack the English troops, even when divided as they were in quarters at three different stations. The other mode, that of attempting to force his entrenchments, was therefore tried on the 31st of July. But it was a complete failure. A sixty-gun ship, the *Centurion*, * was brought as near as possible to the mouth of the Montmorency, where the entrenchments ended, so as to cover the landing of Wolfe's soldiers at low water. These, with useless valour, made one attack but were repelled by the French marksmen placed behind the entrenchments. Wolfe lost nearly 500 men. After this, all hope of succeeding in any attempt that might be made below the city was laid aside.

255. In the mean time, as soon as batteries had been constructed at Point Levi, early in July, the city was bombarded. Day and night, for about two months, shot and shell were discharged against it. The Lower Town soon became a heap of ruins. The habitations, public buildings, and churches of the Upper Town, suffered infinite injury. Fires raged almost every day. At one time, between the 17th and 20th of July, many buildings were blazing at once, giving the appearance of a vast conflagration, as if the whole city had become a prey to the flames. Of the public and private edifices, including the Cathedral and other places of worship, more than 500 were destroyed during the siege. Many persons, some in the streets and thoroughfares, others within the walls of buildings, were killed or wounded by cannon balls. Those of the inhabitants—*non-combatants*, who had not retired at first, fled for refuge into the country. By the middle of August the city was almost destroyed—its resident population having vanished, its principal buildings in ruins, and even the

* The famous vessel in which *Commodore Anson* had sailed round the world.

batteries and cannon on the ramparts, for the most part, made useless.

The results of this furious bombardment shewed how unwise it would have been for the governor and general Montcalm to have decided upon quartering the bulk of the French army within the city walls.

256. While the siege was going on, the English outposts, both at Ange-Gardien and at Point Lévi, were often attacked by small parties of savages and Canadians. All stragglers were shot and afterwards scalped. On the Island of Orleans the same occurred.

Parties of English troops, especially those belonging to the corps of *rangers*, who had previously some experience in American modes of warfare, made excursions to French settlements, on the Island, and on the banks of the St. Lawrence. Deserters from Montcalm's ranks, and sometimes the aged inhabitants, fired upon these parties, who then burned the buildings and crops and carried off cattle and other property. Wolfe had strictly forbidden his soldiers, on pain of death, to plunder or otherwise injure the inhabitants. Nevertheless excesses were committed in several parts. *St. Joachim* and *Chateau-Richer* were two of the places where these things occurred.

257. After the failure of the attack made by the English on July 31st, general Wolfe fell sick of fever. Over-exertion, fatigue, anxiety and a feeble bodily constitution, combined with his disease, nearly ended his life. He did not recover for several weeks.

While confined to his quarters, he held a council of war with his principal officers, when it was decided to abandon the camp at Ange-Gardien. It was agreed to convey most of the troops above the city. This was done early in September. The removal of the soldiers was so conducted that general Montcalm supposed that the bulk of the English army still remained at Orleans, and Point-Lévi, even after about 5000 of their number had passed up the river. As the English left men to guard their post on the Island, and the batteries at Point-Lévi continued firing,

DEFENCES OF QUEBEC

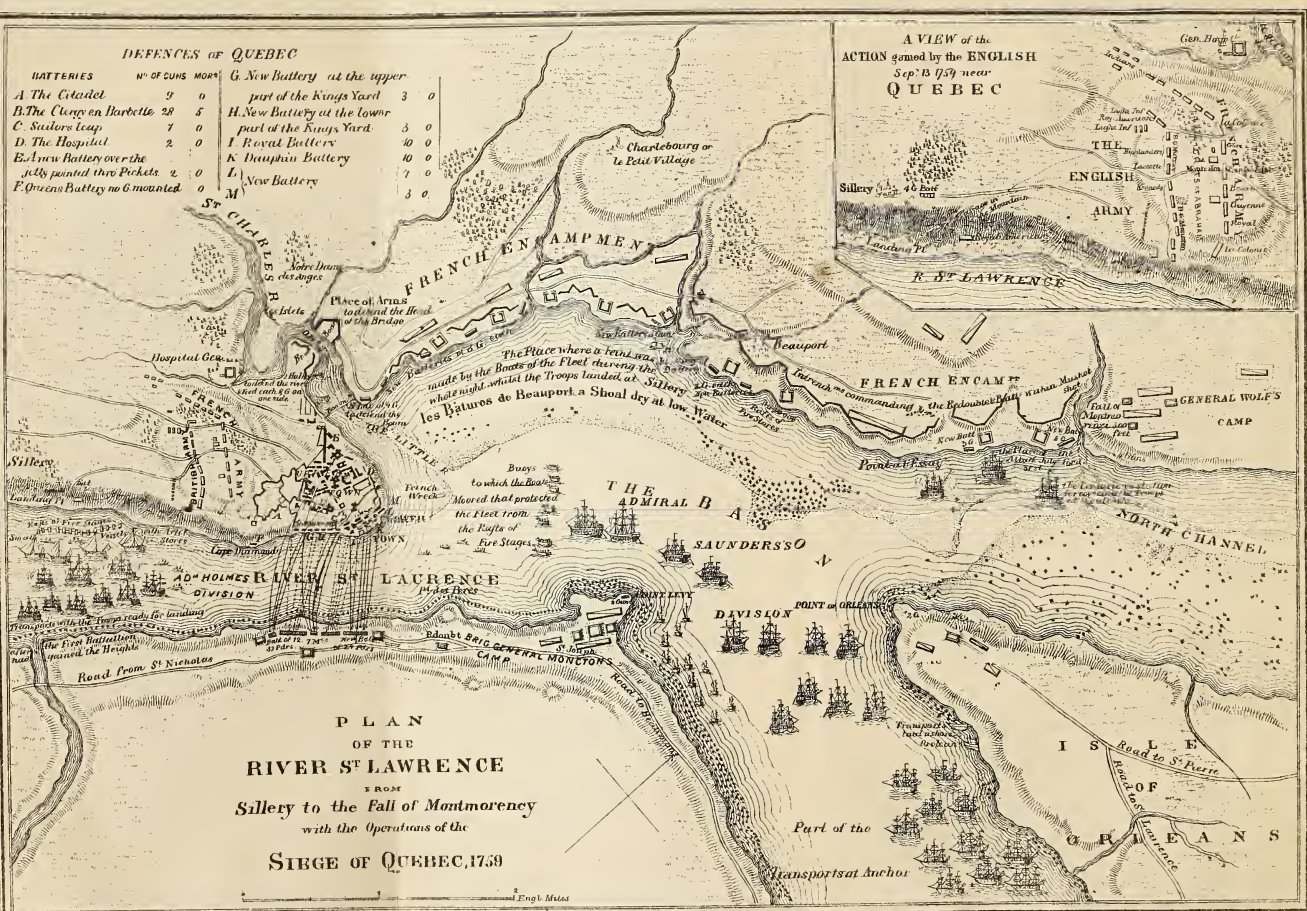
BATTERIES	N ^o OF GUNS	MORS	
A. The Citadel	9	0	G. New Battery at the upper part of the Kings Yard
B. The Clergy on Barbette	28	5	H. New Battery at the lower part of the Kings Yard
C. Sailors Leap	7	0	I. Royal Battery
D. The Hospital	2	0	K. Dauphin Battery
E. A new Battery over the jetty pointed thro Pickets	2	0	L. New Battery
F. Queens Battery no G. mounted	0	0	M.



DEFENCES OF QUEBEC

HATTERIES	N ^o OF GUNS	MORE	G. New Battery	at the upper
A The Citadel	9	0	part of the Kings Yard	3 0
B The Clergy en Barbettes	28	5	H. New Battery of the lower	
C Sappers Leap	7	0	part of the Kings Yard	5 0
D The Hospital	2	0	I Royal Battery	40 0
E New Battery over the			K Dauphin Battery	10 0
jetty pointed thro Pickets	2	0	L New Battery	7 0
F Queens Battery no G mounted			M	3 0

A VIEW of the ACTION gained by the ENGLISH Sep^r 1759 near QUEBEC



PLAN
OF THE
RIVER ST LAWRENCE
FROM
Sillery to the Fall of Montmorency
with the Operations of the

SIEGE OF QUEBEC, 1759

Engl. Miles

Montcalm thought that only a strong detachment had gone up under general Murray.

258. A very important movement, however, on the part of the English, was in progress. A narrow and very steep path up the bank, at a spot less than two miles above the city, had been discovered. By this, Wolfe, now restored to health, determined to ascend and, if possible, bring on a battle on the heights called the *Plains of Abraham*.

After overcoming a number of difficulties, and practising manœuvres to deceive the French, he made the attempt a little before dawn on September 13th.

259. Wolfe had issued a notice to his soldiers, two days before, "to hold themselves in readiness to land and attack the enemy." He also told his men that the French were discontented owing to scarcity of provisions and the departure of their second officer, de Lévis, for the upper country. This, he said, gave reason for believing that general Amherst was making good his advance into the colony.

Full directions were given to the officers and men as to what they were to do when conveyed by the ships' boats to the landing place, and how they were to act when they came on the high land above. In conclusion he stated "a vigorous blow struck by the army at this juncture may decide the fate of Canada. On reaching the heights, the battalions will form instantly, in readiness to charge whatever may present itself. A corps will be left to secure the landing place, while the rest march on and try to bring the French and Canadians to battle. Officers and men will recollect what their country expects from them, and prove what a resolute body of soldiers, inured to war, is able to do against five weak French battalions of regulars, mingled with a disorderly peasantry. The soldiers must be attentive and obedient to their officers, as well as resolute in the performance of their duty."

Such were the words used in the last general order issued by Wolfe—words which animated his soldiers for the coming conflict, and which, uttered just before his own blood was shed on the field of battle, stirred the feelings

of his countrymen when they were afterwards read in England.

260. On the morning of Sept. 13th, the landing was effected without great confusion or difficulty. Those who ascended first, found, and instantly overpowered, a small guard on the summit. * The rest followed in single file up the precipitous pathway. When it was broad daylight, the young commander-in-chief, with his generals, Monckton, Townshend, and Murray, and 4800 officers and men, found themselves established on the south east corner of the Plains of Abraham. All were on foot, for no horse could be made to climb up that steep and rugged path. With difficulty a small brass six pounder was brought up by some sailors of the fleet.

The spot where the landing was made has retained, to this day, the name of "*Wolfe's Cove.*" †

When all was in readiness the whole army marched in files towards the city. The officers and men were in the

* The officer of the guard was made prisoner. At the time he was asleep in his bed. He was *M. Verger du Chambon*, accused formerly of mis-conduct at Louisbourg and Beauséjour. He was a friend of Intendant Bigot!

† A curious story has been told of the way in which Wolfe was led to know of the existence of the narrow path by which his soldiers passed up from the river to the Plains. It is said that *Capt. Robert Stobo*, while a prisoner on his parole, before he was tried and condemned, as has been already mentioned, had seen and carefully noted this path. After his escape to Halifax, he again came to Quebec, while the siege was going on in 1759, and offered his services to the General and Admiral. Whether the British commanders gave him employment, or not, is not quite certain. But, it is said, he informed Wolfe of the position of the landing place and the pathway. We do not read that Stobo himself ascended with the troops, to take part in the battle which ensued. Yet, if what has been mentioned be true, his information, on this occasion, proved far more useful to the English than that which he had before secretly conveyed to the unfortunate general Braddock. In the year 1760, the New England Congress voted £1000 as a reward to Stobo for the services he had rendered. We do not, however, know what afterwards became of this notorious person.

highest spirits, feeling assured that Montcalm would now leave his entrenchments to fight. There was no spot, within the circuit of the season's operations, so suitable to their wishes as that whereon they now moved, and all looked forward with feelings of joy and hope to the accomplishment of the crowning event of the campaign.

261. General Montcalm was misled, during the night of Sept. 12th, by the manœuvres of the English ships and boats, in front of his lines at Beauport. These made him fancy that an attack was meditated, on the morrow, somewhere between the mouth of the St. Charles and the Montmorency. He was therefore surprised to learn, after daylight on the 13th, that the enemy had landed and gained the heights near Sillery. Obeying his military instincts, and perhaps, consulting his own sentiments respecting what was due to the honor of France, rather than reflecting what might be gained by a short delay, he instantly resolved to confront general Wolfe, and to risk all upon the chances of a single battle. He mounted his horse, and led his troops across the St. Charles by the bridge of boats.

When he arrived on the Plains, considering it important to allow as little time as possible for the English to establish themselves in entrenchments, he did not even wait, as he might have done, until Bougainville should draw near to support him. * Artillery, which we may suppose could soon have been supplied from the city, was not brought on the field, except two small field pieces from the lines of Beauport.

262. According to the best authorities, Montcalm's force in the celebrated "Battle of the Plains," fought on the morning of Thursday, September 13th, 1759, was 7500 men. That of Wolfe was 4828 men and officers of all ranks. But scarcely one half of Montcalm's men were regu-

* Bougainville was in command of from 1500 to 2000 troops stationed between Sillery and Point-aux-Trembles, and therefore in the rear of the English. Word had been sent to him in the morning. He arrived with a portion of his force too late to take part in the battle.

lars, there being present 3900 Canadian militia, who were but poorly armed and clothed. A body of Indians, consisting of Abenakis, Hurons, Algonquins and Christian Iroquois, covered the right of his army, stationed amongst bushes towards the St. Foy road.

Although thus unequal in numbers, the two generals were still more unequally matched as respects the quality of their troops and their equipments; for Wolfe's were all trained soldiers, in the highest state of discipline, nor had they been suffering, as Montcalm's men had for months past, from the effects of poor and insufficient diet. The best of Montcalm's troops were placed towards the left and centre of his line of battle, where he commanded in person.

After a hasty consultation with his officers, Montcalm sent them to their posts with orders to begin the attack. Some time before this, the skirmishers between the two armies had been engaged, spread across the plains in front. Behind these, and partially concealed by the smoke of their fire, the French regulars and militia advanced to the charge.

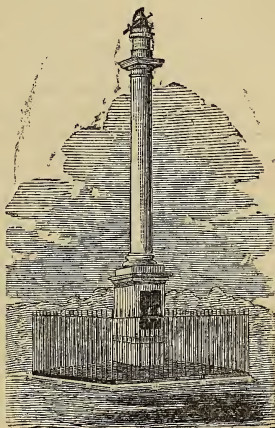
263. After the first forward movement of Montcalm's line, the conflict lasted scarcely ten minutes.

Wolfe, who commanded near the centre of his line of battle, had passed along the ranks to animate his soldiers, and to cause each man to place a second ball in his musket. He told them to bear the enemy's fire without flinching, until they came within 35 or 40 paces, and then return it at the word of command from their officers.

As soon as the French regulars and militia came within the prescribed distance, advancing with great spirit, firing and rapidly reloading, the English poured upon them a discharge so effective that the progress of their adversaries was instantly arrested. A great many were shot down, to rise no more, and the whole left wing, recoiling before the deadly torrent of musketry, broke and fled.

By this time Montcalm was severely wounded, and had his arm broken, but, regardless of pain, the gallant general strove to rally his left wing behind the centre. The attempt was vain. His centre also gave way and the right

had already begun to retire by way of St. John's gate and towards the St. Charles. The whole English line, now advancing, redoubled their fire, and then, quickening their pace, with bayonet and broadsword, prevented the possibility of any second formation of the French troops. The fugitives from their left wing, coming upon those who were retreating in disorder from the centre and right, occasioned



Wolfe's Monument, Plains of Abraham.

"Here died Wolfe victorious."

a scene of inextricable confusion. A brief stand was attempted to be made near the St. John's gate by a portion of the centre and some Canadian militia, but soon the whole French force made precipitately for the St. Charles river, or fled into the city. The Highlanders and the 58th British regiment continued the pursuit until they came within range of the guns mounted upon two hulks in the St. Charles, not far from the bridge of boats.

264. Immediately after the firing ceased it became

known throughout the British army that their heroic commander was dead. He had been wounded three times. He was carried to the rear and breathed his last at the spot whereon the monument erected to his memory on the plains now stands. While dying he had the satisfaction of knowing that his own troops were victorious. His last command was an order to Col. Burton to march a regiment quickly down to the river St. Charles to cut off the retreat of the fugitives by the bridge of boats. His last words were "Now God be praised! I will die in peace"

Wolfe's brave opponent survived until the morning of Sept. 14th. On his death bed he dictated a letter to the commander of the English, beseeching his care and protection for the French wounded and prisoners. The dying general also expressed himself gratified to know that he should not live to witness the surrender of Quebec. He complimented the valour and discipline of his adversaries, saying "if I could recover from these wounds I would undertake, with a third part of such troops as those opposed to me, to beat an army such as that which I commanded." When applied to for advice, as to the steps which ought to be taken, he gave it cheerfully, but said, that as his time was short, he desired to be "left alone with God." Where he died, whether within the walls of the city, or at the general Hospital on the St. Charles—is not precisely known. * In fact, after the lost battle, the state of affairs

* Only a few persons—his surgeon, chaplain, and one or two of the principal officers of the garrison—are likely to have known whither the wounded general was taken to pass the last hours of his life. In that moment of supreme confusion few would notice or inquire about such a matter. Not a workman could be found to make a coffin for his remains, nor suitable materials. The steward of a religious establishment procured with difficulty two or three rough boards, out of which he made the rude oblong case into which the body was placed, previously to interment. Even Bougainville was unable to inform those who wrote Montcalm's epitaph of the place where the general was buried.

It is not a little remarkable however that the exact spot was perfectly well known to the members of the Ursuline convent. One of them, when 9 or 10 years of age, with another girl,

in the city was deplorable in the extreme—nothing but confusion, distress and ruin, everywhere.

265. Considering the brief duration of the battle of Sept. 13th, the loss in killed and wounded was heavy on both sides. On the side of the French, the commander-in-chief and the two officers next in command were mortally wounded. Their total loss, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, has been computed at 1500. The killed and wounded belonged chiefly to the regulars, who had borne the brunt of the battle. A great number of French officers were taken on the field. After the conflict was ended, many of these saluted their captors, hat in hand, and begged for quarter, declaring, at the same time, that they "had not been present at Fort William Henry in 1757."

On the side of the English, including the commander-in-chief, 61 officers and men were killed, and 600 wounded. Amongst the latter was General Monckton, so that the chief command now devolved on general Townshend.

omit. CHAPTER TWENTY SEVENTH.

RETREAT OF THE FRENCH FROM BEAUPORT.—SURRENDER OF QUEBEC.—WINTER OF 1759.—FEELINGS OF THE INHABITANTS TOWARDS THE BRITISH OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS.

266. Governor Vaudreuil, Bigot, and a few others, held a council of war to decide upon their future course, when it was determined to abandon the entrenchments and retreat, with Bougainville's corps, toward Cap-Rouge and Point-aux-Trembles. De Levis might be expected, in a few days, from Montreal, whither he had been despatched

happened to see and follow the party that attended the funeral, which, according to the Quebec parish registers, took place on Sept. 14th, 1759. She saw the body placed in a grave prepared inside the Ursuline chapel. Afterwards the same person became a member of the Ursulines herself, and lived until the year 1835, when she was about 85 years of age. In 1833, the grave was opened. The scull of Montcalm was then found in a good state of preservation, and is now to be seen at the Ursuline Convent.

by Montcalm some time before, to look after affairs in that quarter. When he came their future course might be settled upon.

Accordingly, in the night of the 13th, the defeated troops retired from the Beauport entrenchments upon Lorette, and thence retreated, with Bougainville's corps towards Cap-Rouge. They left behind their artillery and tents standing, as if still occupied, their dying General, and their wounded. The latter were carefully tended by the



CHEVALIER DE LEVIS.

Nuns of the General Hospital and those of the Hotel-Dieu. A garrison of about 1700 men, mostly militia, with a very small supply of provisions, and eager to desert and return to their families, was left in the city, under the command of *M. de Ramezay*.

267. In the afternoon of the 13th, when order was partially restored and the prisoners had been secured, Generals Townshend and Murray went to the front of each British regiment, in turn, and publicly thanked the men for their exemplary conduct in the recent battle.

With the aid of the sailors of the fleet, artillery, tents, ammunition, and provisions, were brought up. Redoubts

were begun, and other measures taken for effecting the capture of the city. Great progress was made in these preparations in the course of a few days.

268. On the 17th, by which time 60 pieces of heavy artillery and 58 mortars were mounted in readiness for firing upon the city, the commander of the garrison sent out a flag of truce to demand terms of capitulation. His men were in a state bordering upon mutiny as they were without shelter and food sufficient for their daily wants. The inhabitants who had returned to the ruined place also insisted upon the surrender, as the army had abandoned them, and they were unwilling to await the assault which was being prepared by the British army outside.

269. Accordingly, on the 18th of September, Quebec was delivered into the possession of the English, on terms honorable to both sides.

De Levis had joined the army at Point-aux-Trembles, and was hastening back to strike another blow in defence of the capital when he received news of the capitulation. In fact sixty horsemen, belonging to his advanced guard, were just about to enter the city with a supply of provisions at the moment when the surrender was made.

Thus, after a siege of about 80 days, the capital town and fortress of New France fell into the hands of the English.

270. About seven weeks were spent by the army, aided by marines and sailors, in making preparations for the occupation of Quebec during the winter. Buildings were repaired, and rubbish cleared away from the thoroughfares. Provisions and stores, enough for a whole year, were landed from the fleet. Outposts were established at Cap-Rouge, St. Foy, Lorette, and other points, in order to guard against surprise, and to protect working parties sent out to collect fuel. Every thing was done that could be thought of in the way of providing for security and the defence of the place until the spring of 1760.

It was arranged that general Murray should remain in command of a garrison, composed of the regiments which had served during the late campaign.

✓ Late in October, the British fleet weighed anchor and departed. Besides the invalids, and other officers and soldiers about to return home, it had on board generals Monckton and Townshend, with their respective staffs. ✓

Already, in about a week after the capitulation, 600 officers and men, who belonged to the regular French service and had formed part of the late garrison, had been sent to France, according to the terms agreed to on the 18th of September.

General Wolfe's remains had also been despatched for burial in England.

✓ 271. A portion of the English fleet was intended to winter at Halifax, and to be kept in readiness to return to the St. Lawrence on the first opening of the navigation in 1760. Measures were also to be taken for intercepting any reinforcements the government of France might attempt to send out to Canada. ✓

272. In the mean time de Levis with the French army retired to Montreal. He determined to harass the English at Quebec as much as possible in the winter time. For this purpose he left a strong detachment in a fortified post near to the mouth of the river Jacques Cartier, with outposts at Point-aux-Trembles and St. Augustin. His intention was, to return in early spring, with all the forces he could muster, and attempt to retake Quebec.

273. Some time in the month of November, Vaudreuil and de Levis despatched a small vessel down the river for France. She passed the ramparts of Quebec in safety, and went out to sea, bearing despatches for the government, together with earnest appeals for the necessaries of life and munitions of war, to be sent out early in the ensuing spring.

274. As the winter advanced the English garrison at Quebec suffered a good deal from the rigours of the season. The fuel used in the city had to be cut in the forest and brought in, from time to time, by the soldiers, unaccustomed to that species of labour. A great deal of sickness prevailed among them, and many died, chiefly from the effects of *Scurvy*. By the time spring came, General Murray had scarcely 3,000 men fitted for duty.

275. The French, from their positions at the Jacques-Cartier and Point-aux-Trembles, endeavoured to harass the English by threatening their out-posts and foraging parties. The inhabitants of the surrounding country, were, in general, friendly. A great number had voluntarily placed themselves under British protection, after the fall of the city, and given in their submission, with promises not to fight against the king of England. This, of course, was displeasing to the officers serving under the orders of the Governor and de Levis, and brought upon those who were known to be friendly towards the English the ill will of the French soldiers, and of the militia remaining loyal to the French cause.

276. In this place it is proper to state an important circumstance, shewing how falsehood and bad feeling are purposely encouraged between nations whose governments are at war with each other. Before the English came to take Quebec in 1759, Governor Vaudreuil, and the French officers, tried to spread among the inhabitants of the country, a belief, that, if they should fall into the hands of the enemies of the King of France, they would meet with cruel and brutal treatment. Vaudreuil even had it proclaimed to them that it would be better for all to perish than to become subject to the king of England.* All this was done to keep up the loyalty of the inhabitants to their own king, to make them willing to fight, and to support the troops, as well as to continue bearing the sufferings by which they had been afflicted so long. But, although there were, of course, some evil disposed persons in the British army and fleet, the character given to the English generally, by Vaudreuil and his officers, was not their true character. After the fighting was over, the inhabitants, who came to have intercourse with the English, found out the truth, and that they were kind and humane in their feelings and conduct. Not only were the officers courteous, but the common soldiers behaved towards the inhabitants in a way to make their officers proud of them ; for they

* See note at page 137.

did all they could to lessen their distress and want, often sharing with them their own rations, tobacco, and other articles, of which the poor Canadians stood in the greatest need. The consequence was, that the people generally, in the country parts about Quebec, desiring above all things peace and relief from their long continued state of suffering, soon became favourably disposed towards the British. In short, the people of the country found out that the English General had spoken the truth when he first arrived, and when he had told them that he came to make war only upon the armed forces of the King of France, then the enemy of the King of England, but not upon the inhabitants of the Colony.

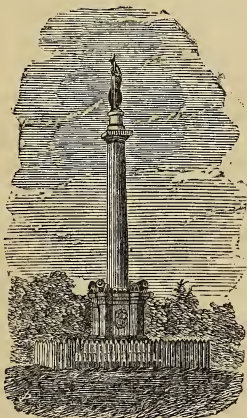
But it is quite true that some occurrences took place in the country parts, while the siege of Quebec was in progress, by which, through the conduct of a few, the character of the whole British nation was made to suffer in the eyes of the French colonists.

In the beginning of the campaign, de Vaudreuil and Montcalm had caused it to be made known that they would rather perish themselves than surrender the capital. The brave Montcalm had kept his word and died in its defence. But de Vaudreuil and Bigot had abandoned the city to its fate after the battle of Sept. 13th. This conduct, the reasons for which could not be known to the inhabitants, made their former declarations seem very inconsistent, and the people, thus deserted, and left to take care of themselves, could not but feel justified in accepting the protection and kindness of the conquerors. If de Vaudreuil and the other leaders had really kept their bold promises, and remained to fight to the last, it would have been no more than they had led the Canadians to expect.

CHAPTER TWENTY EIGHTH.

DE LEVIS TRIES TO RETAKE QUEBEC.—SECOND "BATTLE OF THE PLAINS." — CAPITULATION OF 1760. — TREATY OF X 1763.—MANY FAMILIES QUIT CANADA.

277. During the winter of 1759-60, while Murray's troops at Quebec were suffering a good deal from sickness,



Monument, on the St. Foy Road, to Levis and Murray.

the French leaders at Montreal and the Jacques-Cartier, made every effort to encourage and sustain, among their soldiers, militia, and people generally, a determination to retake the city. They caused reports to be constantly circu-

* It seems that this was seriously proposed at one time by some, and that many light ladders were actually prepared for the attempt.

lated to the effect that de Levis was coming at once with forces to carry the place by *escalade*.* Nothing, however, was really done beyond making preparations for a movement at the close of the winter. The scarcity of provisions was so great, that, many among the French perished from starvation and cold.

X 278. Early in the spring of 1760, de Levis mustered all the forces he could, and descended towards Quebec. Such care was taken, that, by accident only, Murray became aware of his approach. The English general resolved to fight at once. Accordingly, on April 28th, a sanguinary battle took place towards that part of the Plains of Abraham through which the road leading to St. Foy passes, a little further distant from the city than the battle field of Sept. 13th, 1759. Murray had the advantage in respect of the position and artillery, de Levis, in numbers. Both sides fought with desperation. The conflict was longer, and attended with greater loss of life, than the battle between Wolfe and Montcalm.

In the end, Murray's forces were beaten, and retreated into the city, leaving all their artillery, and a large quantity of tools which had been brought for the purpose of making entrenchments. The loss on the English side was at least 1000 and that of the French not much less.

Thus de Lévis, by a signal victory, avenged the defeat of the preceding year. A beautiful monument, on which the names of both generals are inscribed, now marks the spot where the greatest amount of bloodshed occurred. To this day various relics—human bones, soldiers buttons, bayonets, bullets and cannon balls—found in the soil, remind people of the bloody battle which was fought 109 years ago between the ancestors of the two foremost people on the globe, now happily united by the bonds of peace, friendship and mutual interest.*

* The two " Battles of the Plains," fought on Sept. 13th, 1759, and April 28th, 1760, were the only occasions throughout the war when the officers and soldiers of the regular armies of England and France were opposed to each other in the open field.

278. While de Levis was proceeding to profit by his victory—waiting only for heavy artillery to begin the bombardment of the city—two vessels of war appeared in the harbour. For a time it was uncertain whether they belonged to France or England. But soon the English ensign was displayed and cleared up all doubts.

De Levis instantly ordered a retreat, abandoning, in his turn, guns and siege implements.

279. The sequel to our narrative of the struggle which brought on the last days of New France is soon told. France was unable, even if she were willing, to succour her sinking colony. Scarcity of food, clothing and munitions of war, apart from the reduced number of the troops, rendered further resistance utterly hopeless.

De Levis made good his retreat to Montreal, losing, however, on the way, large numbers by desertion.

The ancient Ville Marie became the rendez-vous of the relics of the French forces from all parts of the colony. Already, the artillery from the forts at Isle-aux-Noix, St. John, Chambly, and Sorel, had been withdrawn, for the purpose of forming the siege of Quebec, and nearly all left behind there when de Levis was interrupted in his operations. An English force, under Col. Haviland, advancing along the line of the Richelieu, therefore encountered no resistance in approaching those places. General Amherst, who had resumed his operations at Lake Champlain early in the spring, moved by way of Lake Ontario and down the St. Lawrence towards Montreal. He also encountered but little resistance, although his march was very tedious and attended with some loss at the rapids. Lastly, General Murray, with a considerable force passed slowly up the river towards the last standing place of the French forces. As he advanced, an occasional landing was made, for the purpose of putting down the trifling opposition he met with from people at some of the settlements along the river banks, and to receive their submission and promises to take no further part in the fighting. At length, on the 8th of September, the respective forces of Amherst, Murray, and Haviland formed a junction, near Montreal. Their

united numbers fell not far short of 20,000 men, furnished with plenty of artillery and munitions of war.

To these the French could oppose from three to four thousand dispirited soldiers, destitute of all that was necessary for offering a vigorous resistance.

De Vaudreuil, when the English were about to carry the place by storm, at once capitulated on the best conditions Amherst could be induced to grant. The English general thought, that, under the circumstances in which the relics of the French forces were placed, the French leaders ought to have surrendered *at discretion*. He, however, granted most of the conditions sought, but refused what are called the *honors of war*—that is, for the conquered officers and soldiers to march out of their quarters with their arms and baggage, having colours flying, guns loaded, and lighted matches. The fiery de Levis took offence at this refusal of honors by the British general, so that the governor could induce him, and a number of his officers and men, to lay down their arms, only by insisting upon it, and by issuing positive orders in the name of the King of France.

Thus was made the last stand by the defenders of New-France, and thus fell, for the time at least, the colony for which leading people in France,—noble persons of both sexes, religious devotees and missionaries, had made so many and so great sacrifices, in times past.

¶ 280. By the terms of the capitulation of Montreal, signed by Amherst and de Vaudreuil on Sept. 9th, 1760, protection was promised to the inhabitants, with the free exercise of their religion, and the continued enjoyment of their property, laws and customs, until these and all like matters should be finally regulated by treaty between the Kings of France and England. All fortified places and stations, wherever situated within the bounds of Canada, were to be delivered up without delay. All public documents and stores, were to be surrendered, but private papers and property to remain with their owners. The Governor, Intendant, and all government officials, with their families

and personal effects, were to be transported to France, in British vessels. All officers and men belonging to the French service, pledging themselves not to serve against England during the remainder of the war, were, in like manner, to be carried to France.

Such were the principal conditions of the capitulation of Montreal.

+ 281. Later in the autumn, upwards of 3000 French officers, soldiers, and sailors, were, according to the agreement, carried to France in English ships. At the same time with the troops and government officials, a large number of the principal inhabitants of the colony departed. There remained only those who desired to stay, and whose business, family connections, or future hopes, led them to prefer Canada to "la belle France."

282. During upwards of two years following the cessation of warfare in the colony, its affairs were regulated by a military government, at the head of which general Amherst placed general Murray, who established two inferior governments, at Three Rivers and Montreal, respectively.

The war between the two mother countries lasted until 1763, when a general treaty of peace was signed at Paris, on February 10th.

283. By the treaty of Paris, France surrendered, finally, all her possessions on the American continent,—Canada to Great Britain, and Louisiana to Spain. She reserved only certain fishing rights on the coast of Newfoundland.

The treaty confirmed, in substance, those articles of the capitulations of Quebec and Montreal which related to the religion, language, laws, customs, and property, of the inhabitants of Canada, who thus became legally the subjects of the British Crown, the same as the people of the British isles.

284. All who feared for the future of Canada, under British rule, were made free to depart with their families and effects. A certain time was also allowed within which

they might complete any business affairs, and dispose of property which could not be removed.

Since many persons had remained, waiting only to see if the colony would be again restored to France, as it had been in the days of Champlain, 130 years before, these took advantage now of the opportunity to leave. Upwards of 1100 persons, including nearly all the best families in the country, thus quitted Canada for ever, some to dwell in France, others to cast their future lot among the inhabitants of colonies still remaining to her.

285. Reduced by the large number of those who departed between the years 1759 and 1764, the population of Canada was now about 65,000 souls. These, as well as those who had just left, were the descendants of emigrants of all ranks who had come out from France to the colony since the year 1630, and who are thought *not to have exceeded, in all, eight thousand persons.** This was but a small number for France to send out in the course of 130 years to people the banks of the St. Lawrence and the fertile territories in the West. But France, for the most part, was neglectful of her colony, which might have been populous and strong by the year 1750, if the mother country had, as she might have done, sent out 12 times that number of colonists, and a few thousand soldiers to defend them when they needed such protection.

From the 65,000 people mentioned above, without further emigration from France, are descended the Cana-

* The reader may be interested to learn how this result is obtained. We count as follows :—

From Champlain's time to that of the Royal government established in 1663.....	1000	emigrants.
In the next 9 years, under Talon and Colbert's encouragement	3500	"
In the next thirty years, when the troubles of France and the colony discouraged emigration	none	"
From about 1700 to the year 1756.....	3500	"
Total.....	8000	"

dians of French origin, who, at this day, along with their fellow subjects of other origins and creeds, occupy this noble province, in perfect security and happiness, if we except such causes of trouble and sorrow as are the common lot of humanity.

286. In the ensuing pages are related the fortunes and progress of the Canadian colony under British rule, during more than a century, from 1763 to the present time.

END OF PART FIRST.



PART SECOND.

CHAPTER FIRST.

CANADA UNDER MILITARY GOVERNMENT.—ROYAL PROCLAMATION OF OCTOBER 1763.—GENERAL MURRAY GOVERNOR OF THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC.—HIS INSTRUCTIONS.—THE KING'S "NEW" AND "OLD" SUBJECTS.—DEPARTURE OF GENERAL MURRAY. (A. D. 1763-1766).

287. During the interval from the capitulation of Montreal in 1760 to the conclusion of peace between the two mother countries in 1763, Canada was held in occupation by British troops. Divisions under general Gage and colonel Burton, respectively, were stationed at Montreal and Three Rivers. General Murray, with his head quarters at Quebec, was the chief officer over the colony. The affairs of the country were regulated by Councils composed of military officers, whose meetings were held at the three principal towns which have been named.

This was the *Military Government*, to which, for a season, the inhabitants were subjected, until their future lot should be decided by the conditions of peace that might be agreed upon in Europe.

288. Although the French colonists looked forward to the restoration of the country to France, they remained peaceable, and submissive to those who were now placed over them. Active warfare having ceased, their territory was no longer a scene of violence and bloodshed. They found themselves humanely treated by the English officers and soldiers. The former state of famine was succeeded by an abundance of the necessaries of life. Although their

present rulers differed from them in regard to origin, language and creed, the inhabitants were, in reality, better off than they had been for many years.

289. In the spring of 1763 it became known that the treaty of peace had been signed at Paris, on February 10th, in virtue of which Canada was ceded by France to Great Britain. Louisiana, less fortunate, came under the government of Spain. *

290. In October following, an important proclamation was issued in the name of the King of England.

The chief particulars of that proclamation were the following: the King's English and American subjects were invited to profit by the great increase of territory which the treaty of peace threw open to merchants and settlers; officers and soldiers were offered free grants of land in Canada; and, the King's subjects were informed, that "as soon as the state of the new American colonies permitted, the governors thereof would call general assemblies, until which time all persons resorting to the said colonies might confide in his Majesty's Royal protection for enjoying the benefit of the laws of England."

Whatever may have been the sense in which the King's advisers intended the terms of the proclamation to be understood, it occasioned in the colony apprehensions and discord. More than 400 persons, Protestants and of British origin, became residents in Canada. These claimed, or expected, that the affairs of the country would be conducted on much the same footing as if Canada had

* By one of the articles of the Treaty of Paris, the former American subjects of the French King in Canada were guaranteed the free exercise of their religion, and all their former religious privileges so far as the laws and constitution of England permitted. No such stipulation was necessary to be made in behalf of the colonists of Louisiana because their religion was the same as that of the Spaniards. But, nevertheless, the latter, in taking possession of their newly acquired territory treated the French inhabitants harshly, and even cruelly. Afterwards Louisiana came again under the rule of France. In 1803, when Napoleon I reigned over the French, that territory was sold to the United States for \$15,000,000.

become a district situated in the midst of England. They expected that English forms and usages, as well as the English language, would alone be employed in the courts of law. Moreover, as in England, they claimed that the magistrates and public officers should consist exclusively of persons professing the Protestant faith. *

On the other hand, the colonists of French origin became alarmed at the thought of having to conform to legal usages unknown to themselves or their forefathers; and they dreaded the hardship of having questions concerning their property, rights of inheritance, and many other affairs, dealt with in a language to them unknown. Some also feared lest, like the Acadians, they might have their property confiscated and be themselves removed from their native country. †

291. In November, 1763, the military form of government, was, as much as possible, brought to an end, by the appointment of General James Murray to the office of Governor General. The territory formerly claimed by the French Governors was now confined to the borders of the St. Lawrence and the Northern shores of the Great Lakes, and was henceforward styled the *Province of Quebec*.

The new Governor was instructed, as far as practicable, to introduce the laws of England. He was further directed to require from the inhabitants a compliance with the three following conditions, under the penalty of having to leave the country, namely; *to take the oath of allegiance*,

* At that time the laws of England required that not only the British sovereign, but, also, all persons holding public offices should be Protestants. Roman Catholics were strictly excluded and continued to be so during the ensuing 70 years, when the statutes respecting magistrates and public officers were changed.

† Mention has already been made of the voluntary removal of more than 1000 of the principal and most intelligent people of the colony as soon as it became known that Canada was ceded to Great Britain. Excepting the ministers of religion and persons belonging to the religious houses, those who remained consisted almost wholly of artisans, farm labourers, and those of humble rank.

*to make a declaration of abjuration, * and to give up all arms in their possession.*

It was found impossible to procure compliance with all these requirements. The oath of abjuration could not be taken by the Roman Catholic inhabitants without going against what was held to be a fundamental principle of their religion. The condition respecting arms was also extremely distasteful to the French, but the oath of allegiance to their new lawful sovereign was taken without opposition. The Governor himself did not insist upon the full execution of the instructions he had received. He even complained of the unfitness of the class of persons from amongst whom he had to make the selection of magistrates and other public officers.

Thus, neither the king's *new subjects*, as those of French origin were styled, nor his *old subjects*, who had come in from the British Isles and the Anglo-American colonies, were satisfied with management of affairs or their future prospects. The Governor became unpopular amongst his own countrymen, who complained of him, and blamed him for favouring the interests of those who constituted the vast majority of the population. Discord and heart-burnings arose in the colony, owing to the opposite views held by the *majority* and *minority*.

292. After a season, however, instead of a complete introduction of English laws, and the setting aside of those under which the colonists had been formerly ruled, a species of *compromise* was adopted. In *criminal* cases, trial by jury, and English legal forms, were established. In *civil* cases—those affecting property and inheritance—the ancient laws of the colony were allowed to have force. But a considerable period, upwards of 14 years, elapsed before any definite constitution, or any really settled modes

* This was a declaration on oath, denying that the Pope had any lawful control over spiritual affairs in the dominions of the King of England. According to the laws of England the King was held to be the supreme head of the church, while the *supremacy* of the Pope was thus set aside or *abjured*.

of administering the laws, can be said to have been introduced. This occurred after 1774, in which year the English parliament passed the "Quebec Act," the nature of which is described in a future chapter.

293. General Murray, who was regarded with much favour by the inhabitants of French origin, left the colony in 1766. He was recalled to England in order to report in person upon the affairs of the country, and to answer complaints made against his government. *

During his administration some important occurrences took place in the west, which must now be briefly related.

CHAPTER SECOND.

INSURRECTION OF WESTERN TRIBES OF INDIANS.—PONTIAC.

294. At the close of the late war, the military posts which had been maintained by the French amongst the Western Indians, and in the Lake regions, were surrendered to the British. Their garrisons were replaced by others, commanded by English officers.

But many of the Indian tribes who used to frequent those posts, although they had abandoned the cause of the French, were, in their hearts, by no means favourable to the English. They found, also, their former importance, in the eyes of the Europeans, gone, since their services, as auxiliaries, were now no longer sought by two contending parties.

295. In the year 1764, the English, relying upon the general peace which had been proclaimed, considered themselves safe in the occupation of the various fortified stations which they occupied. But, suddenly, the savages

* A commission was appointed in England to investigate complaints against Governor Murray. He proved, in defence of himself against the charge of partiality for the Catholics, that out of a total population of 76,000 souls, only about 500 were Protestants—that is *one to one hundred and fifty*—The commission reported that the charges against him were groundless.

belonging to the lake regions, and those occupying territories to the West and South of the Great Lakes, began a most determined attack upon their forts and frontier settlements. The Ottawas, Chippewas, Wyandots, Pouteoutamis, Sakis, Mississagues, Miamis, as well as the nations between the Ohio and the Lakes, Delawares, Shawnees, Mingoes, Mohicans, and others, all acted in concert in falling upon a great number of points at the same time. They soon made themselves masters of nine forts. In fact, all the chief outlying posts which the British had lately obtained after a long and bloody war, were captured by the savages, excepting only Niagara, Detroit, and Fort-Pitt or Duquesne. The two last named stations, were also, for a time, in the greatest danger of sharing the fate of the others, for they were surrounded by large bodies of Indians, determined to take them by assault, or to effect the same purpose by means of fire and famine. The Commander in Chief of the English forces in America, General Amherst, felt obliged to give all his attention to succouring forts Niagara, Detroit, and Pitt, and with difficulty saved them by means of forces hastily forwarded to their rescue. *

After the capture of the forts which fell into their hands, the Indians continued their attacks upon the frontier settlements of the English. Crops, animals, and immense quantities of property were destroyed. All the garrisons were massacred, as well as a large number of people belonging to the settlements. †

* Captain Dalzell, Col. Bradstreet, and Col. Bouquet were the officers sent to relieve the principal forts. Dalzell succeeded in conducting reinforcements to Niagara, and then pushed on to Detroit, around which bloody conflicts occurred. Col. Bouquet relieved fort Pitt, and defeated the savages in a pitched battle at a spot called *Bushy-Run*, in July, 1764.

† It has been recorded that upwards of 2000 persons belonging to the English forts and frontier settlements were massacred. A great many besides, men, women and children, were carried off into captivity,

296. The principal leader in that savage warfare of 1764, was, *Ponthiac*, an Ottawa chief, who possessed great influence among his own people and with the chiefs of the other tribes. He it was who secretly devised the plan of a simultaneous attack upon the British stations. But, after the defeat at Bushy-Run, the savages were induced to come to terms. Forts and prisoners were recovered, and peace again established. Ponthiac, who only survived until 1767, was so far conciliated that he ceased to be an open enemy. *

297. If Ponthiac's plans had been completely successful in the West, the consequences must have been felt on the banks of the St. Lawrence, within the Province of Quebec. That renowned savage's real aim was to destroy or expel the English altogether; and he had even, to a certain extent, gained over to his cause their ancient allies the Iroquois.

But the British at Montreal, Three Rivers, and Quebec, scarcely knew of the great Indian enterprise, before the campaign was ended at Forts Pitt and Detroit. †

* Ponthiac's abilities have been described by some writers as having been wonderful. He was remarkable for his hostility to the English. In the battle with general Braddock, in 1755, he was present in command of the Ottawa warriors, and fought against the British during the ensuing war. He came to his end in the year 1767, when, at a meeting of savages, an Indian stabbed him on account of some words uttered expressing dislike of the English.

† It has been computed that the whole Indian population, with whom the French were concerned in Canada and Louisiana, at the time when these countries were ceded to England and Spain, amounted to about 280,000 souls. Their warriors numbered more than 50,000. But a great many of these belonged to tribes too far distant to be able to join in Ponthiac's enterprise.

CHAPTER THIRD.

SIR GUY CARLETON, GOVERNOR—THE QUEBEC ACT.—REVOLT OF ENGLISH COLONIES.—CONDITION AND DISPOSITION OF THE CANADIANS. (A. D. 1766–1775).

298. Governor Murray, who, as has already been stated, was recalled in 1766, was succeeded by General Guy Carleton. He, like Murray, had served under general Wolfe at Louisbourg and in the campaign of 1759.

As it was, for a time, uncertain whether or not Murray would return to Quebec, Carleton was appointed Lieutenant Governor, until, in 1768, he received the title of Governor General.

299. Governor Carleton went farther than his predecessor in his endeavours to befriend the king's French Canadian subjects. He favoured such alterations in the laws of England as might admit of Roman Catholics holding offices of trust in the colony. Instead of the exclusive use of the English language and forms in the courts of law, he desired the ancient system * to be restored in civil cases, especially so far as concerned the French Canadians themselves. He even caused a *Code* to be drawn up, including what he thought most necessary to be taken from the ancient laws. With this he went to England in 1770, and, while there, advocated various improvements in the government of the colony.

300. During Sir Guy Carleton's absence, from 1770 to 1774, *Mr. Cremahé*, a member of the Colonial Council, acted temporarily as Lieutenant Governor, or *Administrator*.

301. The inhabitants of all classes experienced the inconvenience of the sort of government under which the colony was ruled, and of the other disadvantages, which have been mentioned. About this time they made endeavours, by means of petitions, to induce the authorities in England to attend to their case. Those of English origin pleaded for the establishment of an *Assembly*, which they

* "Coutume de Paris."

alleged had been promised in the king's proclamation of 1763. The French inhabitants also petitioned for concessions relative to their admission to public offices, and other matters, about which they claimed they did not enjoy all the benefits to which they were entitled as subjects of the king of England. But it seemed that the English government required much time for consideration before adopting any decisive measures.

302. In the meantime, notwithstanding the evils connected with the mode of government and the administration of the law, the inhabitants had, to a great extent, recovered from the deplorable condition in which the conclusion of hostilities, in 1760, had left them. Agriculture and commerce were making progress. The population had advanced to beyond 80,000. Food was abundant, so that wheat, fish, and other products, were exported. There were no taxes.

At the same time, long disuse of arms, and their state of inactivity, as compared with their condition during the last war, had doubtless affected their ancient warlike spirit. Many amongst them now claimed exemption from certain claims which the Seigneurs used, in former times, to make without question, especially in relation to personal services according to the feudal system.

303. At length, in June 1774, the Parliament of England deemed it expedient to legislate for the benefit of the Province. An Act was passed, styled "*An Act for making better provision for the government of the Province of Quebec in North America.*" This act removed some of the principal grievances complained of by the majority of the population.* But the English inhabitants were dissa-

* By the Quebec Act, the territory of the Province was extended; the Proclamation of October, 1763, and all appointments and regulations derived from it, revoked and annulled; the rights and dues of the Roman Catholic Clergy secured, and the oath of allegiance and supremacy changed to suit the consciences of Roman Catholic subjects; the ancient laws of Canada restored and trial by jury taken away in regard to *Civil* cases; the laws of England retained in regard to *criminal* affairs; a council of from 17 to 23

tified with it, and even petitioned against it. In this proceeding they were joined by people of the other English colonies in America, who declared that the favour shewn towards the Roman Catholics by the "Quebec Act" was contrary to the law of England. Soon afterwards, however, all the English colonies of America were involved in civil war and bloodshed.

✓304. It is not necessary in this book to state fully the causes which led the English Colonists to rise in rebellion against the mother country, in 1775. England desired to raise revenue by taxing the colonists. The colonists refused to pay, while the government insisted on the right of the Parliament to tax all the King's subjects, whether they consented or not. At first, it was a rebellion. Then, in 1776, the colonists declared themselves no longer subjects of the King, and fought desperately for their independence. Having endeavoured in vain to induce the Canadians to join them, the English Colonists carried the war to the banks of the St. Lawrence. Those who, fifteen years before, had fought for England against the subjects of France in Canada, now came to fight the Canadians, or to force these to take part against England ! It must be admitted, that, although the French inhabitants manifested indifference to the solicitations of the Americans, yet they were not moved by much warmth of feeling in behalf of their own government.

305. Governor Carleton returned to Canada in the autumn of 1774. The new Act was to come into force in May 1775. But the events which ensued upon the breaking out of war between England and her American colonies prevented the assembling of a New Council until the year 1777.

inhabitants to be appointed for making ordinances in behalf of the peace, welfare and good government of the Province.

The *Dues and rights* intended to be secured to the Catholic Clergy were stated in the Act to be those only from persons of the same faith. It was settled, further, that such other provision should be made for the Protestant religion, and the support of the Protestant clergy, as should from time to time be judged necessary and expedient.

CHAPTER FOURTH.

INVASION OF CANADA BY THE AMERICANS IN 1775.—CONTINUATION OF THE WAR IN 1776 AND 1777.—INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF CANADA.—END OF THE “WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.”—U. E. LOYALISTS. (A. D. 1775-1783.)

306. The war commenced early in July 1775. The Americans determined to take possession of Canada, and, for this purpose, despatched two armies towards the St. Lawrence. One of these, under General Richard Montgomery, took the route of Lake Champlain and the river Richelieu. All the fortified stations on the way were captured. When the St. Lawrence was reached, at Sorel, Montgomery placed troops and batteries on both sides of the river to prevent communication between Quebec and Montreal. Presently, there being little or no resistance, he moved upon Montreal, and gained possession of that city on the 13th November. Thence he descended the St. Lawrence to Quebec, in the neighbourhood of which he landed on December 5th.

The other American army, under general Arnold, had arrived some time before, having marched through the wilderness from the sea coast, by the route of the rivers *Kennebec* and *Chaudiere*.

The two corps united before Quebec numbered about 3000 men.

As the season was far advanced, the American leaders felt the necessity of attempting the capture of the city as quickly as possible. But they had no heavy guns, and the month of December came to an end before they were prepared to make an attack.

307. At that time the British government had only one weak battalion of troops in Canada.

Governor Carleton, with a few hundred men, soldiers and Canadian militia, had made some slight show of opposition to Montgomery's march on Montreal. But it was impossible for him to offer any effective resistance, and,

he himself with difficulty made his escape down the river in a boat. He reached Quebec on November 20th, some time after Arnold's force had established itself in the neighbourhood.

The governor found the people of Quebec astonished at the presence of a hostile band, coming in the direction which Arnold had pursued. For the Kennebec and the Chaudiere abounded in rocks and rapids, and the country between their sources was full of swamps, forests, and rugged mountain ridges, across which it was supposed bodies of armed men could not pass.

Only a single company of soldiers formed the garrison. To these the Governor added the seamen and marines of a sloop of war, then in the harbour, and also all the inhabitants able to bear arms. Both French and English citizens placed themselves under his orders. But as there were some disaffected persons in the place, the Governor ordered all such to withdraw. When these had departed he found himself in command of about 1600 men fit for duty.

At all available places cannon were placed, and all the approaches barred with obstacles as much as possible.

The troops, sailors, and citizens, were formed into companies, and every man's station was assigned.

✓ 308. On the night of December 31st, the Americans made their attack in four distinct bodies. Two columns advanced towards the heights of Abraham, merely for the purpose of attracting the attention of the garrison from the real points of assault. Arnold led a third body by the low ground, between the St. Charles and the heights, with the intention of penetrating into the Lower Town. Montgomery, with the fourth division, moved towards the Lower Town, between the river and Cape Diamond. When the assailants reached the intended points of attack, they found the garrison on the alert and ready to receive them. Arnold was wounded at the first fire, and carried back to his quarters. His followers were presently overpowered, and killed or captured.

Montgomery also failed to pass the barriers in his way. Cannon and musquetry were discharged upon his column, as soon as the people of the garrison could discern by the sounds that it was approaching. Snow was falling at the time, and nothing could be seen through the darkness. But soon groans were heard, and there was the bustle of men retiring in confusion. General Montgomery, * his secretary, several of his principal officers, and five men, were killed on the spot.

In the morning the particulars were ascertained, and some advised the Governor to march out, and fall upon the enemy, before they should recover from the feelings inspired by their failure. But Carleton was too prudent to run any risk, by venturing outside the defences of the city.

309. The American force, now commanded by Arnold, continued the siege until the following spring. Their numbers were diminished by their loss in the late attack, desertion, and disease, until they were less than 1000. In the course of the winter months, however, they received reinforcements.

Some attempts to raise the siege, made by bodies of Canadians outside, were defeated by the Americans. The Governor resisted all persuasion to take the offensive, intent solely on preserving the city.

Towards the approach of spring the American Congress sent forward 3000 troops, and some heavy artillery, to Arnold's assistance. Montreal and the Forts on the Richelieu were occupied by 4000 more.

But, before the reinforcements intended for Arnold could reach him, the arrival of ships of war from England,

* This General Montgomery had been formerly a British officer serving in the 17th Regiment, under Amherst, in the campaigns of 1759 and 1760. He had afterwards married and settled in Virginia, and, when the colonies revolted, had thrown off his allegiance to Great Britain.

bringing troops and stores, changed the face of affairs at Quebec. This occurred on the 6th of May 1776.

310. Arnold at once retreated, leaving behind almost all his stores and his wounded.

The Governor, who had now three brigades of infantry, moved up the river in pursuit.

From Sorel, the Americans crossed the river, and made a vigorous, though unsuccessful, night attack upon one of the English brigades encamped at Three Rivers.

As the British advanced, the invaders withdrew from all the places which they had taken in 1775.

Montreal, and the forts on the Richelieu, were abandoned. The English government, determined to put down the rebellion, continued to send out troops to Quebec. Divisions of these were forwarded to the seat of war, as they arrived.

Carleton was thus enabled to follow the retreating enemy to Lake Champlain, of which, by launching a fleet, he obtained the command before the campaign of 1776 was ended. Isle-aux-Noix and Crown Point were given up without fighting by the enemy, who concentrated their forces at Ticonderoga, in readiness for the ensuing season. Thus ended the invasions of Canada by the Americans in 1775 and 1776.

311. In course of their operations in Canada, the Americans had constantly endeavoured to entice the French Canadian population to join in their revolt. The Canadians, however, although there was some disaffection amongst them, declined to be guided by them. The more they saw of the Americans, the more the French inhabitants of Canada seemed to shrink from becoming their allies. The clergy * also exerted themselves strenuously in

* There had been no Bishop since the death of M. Pontbriand, in 1760. In 1766, M. Briand came out as chief ecclesiastic. The government would not acknowledge him as Bishop although he had the king's consent to preside over the church affairs of the French Canadians.

exhorting their people to remain faithful to the British Government.

The military operations on the British side were chiefly carried on by officers and soldiers of the regular army, sent out from England. Nevertheless, as the war continued, and when the Canadians came to understand the nature and objects of the revolt, they became less reluctant to be embodied as militia for active service. They cheerfully acquiesced in the quartering of the soldiers in their habitations, during winter.

At a later date, some dissatisfaction was occasioned by circumstances which will be hereafter stated.

★312. During the year 1777. the war continued, but the scene of active operations being out of the limits of Canada, it is unnecessary to describe all the details. General Burgoyne was now the English Commander-in-Chief. He had about 8000 men, of whom about 500 were Canadians and a like number Indians. Having reached the American position at Ticonderoga, and followed the retiring enemy in the direction of Albany, some severe fighting occurred. Two of his detachments in succession were defeated with great loss, near a place called *Bennington*. This encouraged the Americans so much, that the troops, militia, and armed inhabitants of the country, assembled in great numbers, and fought a desperate battle on the 19th of September. They no longer retired, for Burgoyne was a long way from his supplies, and his difficulties increased every day. On October 7th, another desperate conflict occurred. The English general fell back upon Saratoga, where he soon found himself completely surrounded. The Indian auxiliaries, and the Canadians, had nearly all deserted, and other losses, by war and sickness, had reduced his force to 3,500 men. On October 16th, Burgoyne surrendered by capitulation to the American general Gates, who had 16,000 men under his command.

To complete the misfortunes of the English general, a corps, consisting of 700 regulars, and 1000 Indians and Canadians, which had been ordered to move from Oswego

to Albany, was ignominiously defeated and driven back by the inhabitants of the country. *

313. While these events were in progress, Sir Guy Carleton, in Canada, was devoting his attention to the internal affairs of the Province. The New Council, created by the Quebec Act, held its first meeting in the spring of 1777. Five of the members were French Canadians. The courts of law were organized for conducting business according to the spirit of the Act.

But the governor, who was dissatisfied, because Burgoyne had been appointed to command the troops in the field, had already demanded his recall. This was granted, and, in 1778, Carleton returned to England before the new constitution had been fairly introduced.

His successor was Major General *Haldimand*—a man of a very different character from that of Murray or of Sir Guy Carleton.

314. The struggle between the revolted colonists and the mother country was maintained until the year 1782. Then hostilities ceased, and a treaty of peace was agreed upon, in which the independence of the *Thirteen United States of America* was acknowledged by Great Britain. †

315. Before the war was ended, and after its close, a great many persons from the English colonies removed

* The command of this corps had been entrusted to *Colonel St. Leger*. He was to move from Oswego by the *Mohawk* river, and, after capturing the forts on his way, to arrive at Albany in time to join the army under Burgoyne. St. Leger escaped total destruction only by a precipitate retreat to Oswego, whence he returned to Montreal.

The grand object of the campaign was to assemble a strong army at Albany and put down the rebellion—but the failure of Burgoyne to reach that place, and the forced retreat of St. Leger, proved that the Americans were able to cope with the British forces.

† The 4th of July, 1776, is the date from which the Americans count their independence, because on that day their famous *Declaration* was signed. Every anniversary of July 4th, is observed by them as a national holiday.

into Canada. As they had remained faithful to the English crown, lands were assigned to them and to their children.

No fewer than 10,000 were styled *United Empire Loyalists*, * because they fought for the *unity* of the empire, and against the separation of the thirteen American States. Their property in those States was confiscated. Of such consisted the early settlers in the territory north of Lake Ontario, afterwards called *Upper Canada*.

§16. By the treaty of peace between England and the United States, the territory of the Province of Quebec was again reduced within limits nearly the same as those established after the treaty of 1763. Although the Quebec Act had so lately extended those limits, so as to include part of the Ohio Valley and other extensive tracts in the west, yet, without consideration for the future of Canada, they were again altered to suit the wishes of the revolted colonists. This circumstance displeased the Canadians, who remembered the former vast extent of New France.

CHAPTER FIFTH.

mm GOVERNOR HALDIMAND.—MEASURES OF THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT.—LORD DORCHESTER, GOVERNOR.—INCREASE OF THE POPULATION FROM 1763 TO 1790.

317. Sir Frederick Haldimand, whose governorship lasted from 1778 to 1785, has been described as one better fitted to conduct a system of strict military discipline than the government of a Province. It was believed that emis-

* Besides the U. E. Loyalists, officers and soldiers, who had served in the late war, were offered grants of land in the territory afterwards named *Upper Canada*. Subsequently, emigrants from the British Isles were encouraged to come out and receive free grants of land, consisting of lots of 200 acres each—subject to the condition of becoming actual settlers. Many persons were thus induced to emigrate. The population in the newly settled parts increased more rapidly than that of the Eastern territories—the Province of Quebec or Lower Canada—had ever done. In 8 years it reached the number of 20,000.

saries from the neighbouring disloyal provinces were watchful for opportunities of tampering with the fidelity of the people of Canada.

The governor therefore sought to put down every symptom of disaffectation. Being strict, and haughty, and of an uncongenial disposition, he was far from popular. The provisions of the Quebec Act dissatisfied all parties, when they came to be executed. The French majority, being represented by less than one fourth of the number of members in the Council, thought themselves but little better off than when under a purely military government. The English party considered themselves injured because the trial by jury, in civil cases, had been taken away. The absence of a representative form of government, and of the privileges of the "*Habeas Corpus*" Act,* made them feel that they were denied the rights of British subjects.

Nobody being satisfied, and the governor being very arbitrary, discontent reigned in the Province. There were loud complaints, not only of the governor's tyranny, but also that justice was not fairly administered by the judges in the courts of law.

Many persons, on slight grounds, were thrown into prison. Petitions were sent to England, and, at length, in 1785, the unpopular governor demanded his own recall.

318. The English Government saw that steps must be taken to put an end to the general discontent. But this could not be done without making some signal changes, such as might satisfy the increasing English and Protestant population, as well as the French and Roman Catholics. Nor could such changes be made on the instant, or without due preparation.

Accordingly, in the first instance, *trial by jury*, in civil cases, was restored, and the law of "*Habeas Corpus*" was introduced into the Province.

* There was a statute or law of the time of Charles II, for preventing people from being unjustly thrown into prison or kept there without trial. It was called the "*Habeas Corpus*" Act, because it began with those words. It was then in force in England but not in Canada.

Next, it was determined to procure further and more perfectly reliable information about all its internal affairs, and to find out, if possible, the best modes of removing the causes of complaint.

Lastly, as a proof of the desire to deal impartially with King's Canadian subjects, it was decided to send out, as Governor, one who had already rendered himself acceptable to all classes. This was no other than the popular Sir Guy Carleton, who had been made a peer, with the title of *Lord Dorchester*.

By such measures, the King of England and his ministers, prepared the way for granting a New Constitution, which followed in a few years, and proved their concern in behalf of the substantial welfare of Canada.

319. In the interval between the recall of Haldimand and the arrival of Lord Dorchester, the affairs of the Province were conducted by Henry Hamilton, and, after him, by Colonel Henry Hope.

320. Lord Dorchester reached Quebec in October 1786. During the five succeeding years, until 1791, when he again departed to England, the Governor did all in his power to mitigate the bad feelings growing out of differences of race, creed, and language. In order to procure for the English ministers the information they needed about the internal affairs of the Province, he appointed committees of inquiry. These consisted of members of the Council. They were directed to inquire into all particulars relating to *commerce, education, justice, the militia, and the tenure of lands*; to make full reports upon these; to suggest changes and improvements by which existing evils might be remedied.

321. Although several writers, either through ill nature or mistake, have imputed bad motives to England herself, in regard to her dealings with the people of Canada, at that time and subsequently, yet it is certain that the King, as well as his ministers and people, sincerely desired the welfare of the Provincials. They were anxious to find out, and to remedy, whatever was amiss, and willing to concede to the Canadians privileges greater than were enjoyed by

people in any other part of the empire. * King George the Third of England, was a very different personage from King Louis XV of France, whose imbecillity and shameful neglect of his Acadian and Canadian subjects, had occasioned them infinite distress, before their transfer to the British Crown. In fact, apart from the sense of justice and benevolence which animated King George and his ministers in their conduct towards Canada, they had learned to profit by the experience gained in the late war with the revolted colonists. This had taught them to be more careful in regard to the wishes and wants of those who remained faithful, lest these also might become disloyal, and cast off the yoke of a nation three thousand miles distant.

322. The population of Canada had now increased very considerably. In 1763, it had been somewhat more than 65,000. Twenty years later, in 1783, it was reckoned at about 120,000; seven years afterwards, in 1790, it was upwards of 150,000. It had thus been at least doubled in the course of 27 years. At first, the English speaking and Protestant inhabitants were very insignificant in number. But, after 1782, these increased rapidly. They must have exceeded 30,000 in the year 1791. The great majority of them, besides, were of the classes of people accustomed to

* The Roman Catholic religion in those days was scarcely tolerated in Great Britain or her other colonies, and, as has been already mentioned, the Catholics were denied admission to public offices. In these happier and more liberal times, people can scarcely realize the strength of the bad feeling which then mutually animated Protestants and Catholics. Also, before the times of which we now write, as well as since, long and desperate wars between England and France rendered the people of the two countries very bitter against each other, so that, even in intervals of peace, they were much kept apart and prevented from knowing or esteeming each other's good qualities. The young reader will easily learn from these statements that people from the British isles, coming to settle in Canada, would be likely to come out prejudiced against the French inhabitants: and, that the latter would be disposed to regard the new-comers with no favourable feelings.

think for themselves. As has been already stated, the U. E. Loyalists had lands assigned to them, especially in the territory afterwards named Upper Canada. There were also officers, and disbanded soldiers, belonging to the army, and emigrants from the British isles, who came to make homes for their families in Canada.

Of the people thus suddenly thrown into the same Province with the ancient inhabitants, the majority were aware of their rights as British subjects, and disposed to claim them.

323. In consequence of the circumstances stated in the preceding articles, and the reports of the committees, * as well as the continued discontent and petitions of the inhabitants for redress, the British Parliament, in 1791, conferred on Canada a new constitution. The particulars are given in the ensuing chapter.

* One committee reported that justice was administered sometimes according to English laws, at other times according to the French, and that there were other irregularities and uncertainties connected with the courts. On commerce and the tenure of lands the reports were just such as might have been made by the whole council, composed as this was of a great majority of members unfavourable to the wishes of the majority of inhabitants. On the subject of Education, it was proposed that elementary schools should be established in all the parishes—that there should also be a number of schools of higher grade and one university to be maintained out of the property that had formerly been in the hands of the Jesuits, but claimed by the crown in 1776.

END OF PART SECOND.

PART THIRD.

CHAPTER FIRST.

THE DIVISION OF QUEBEC INTO UPPER AND LOWER CANADA.—
CONSTITUTION OF 1791.—PARTICULARS OF THE FIRST PARLIAMENT OF EACH PROVINCE—POPULARITY OF LORD DORCHESTER.—LOYALTY AND HAPPINESS OF THE PEOPLE.—HARMONY AND PROGRESS IN BOTH PROVINCES. (A. D. 1791-1803.)

324. The Parliament of Great Britain conferred on Canada a new constitution in the year 1791.

This was based on the separation of Quebec into two Provinces, *Upper Canada* and *Lower Canada*. The course of the great river Ottawa was assigned as the boundary between the two new Provinces. *

325. For each of the Provinces a legislature was established, consisting of a *Legislative Council*, a *House of Assembly*, and Governor. This was in imitation of the Constitution of England, for the governor was to repre-

* The Provinces of *Ontario* and *Quebec* are now (1869) separated by the same boundary. At *Point Fortune*, the division line leaves the Ottawa, and, running eastwards of the Counties of *Prescott* and *Glengarry*, crosses to the bank of the St. Lawrence on the north side of Lake St. Francis. Thence, to the Indian town, *St. Regis*, the St. Lawrence itself is the boundary between the two Provinces. St. Regis is on the south bank of the St. Lawrence, and through it runs the line separating Canada and the United States—namely, eastwards, the parallel of 45°, and westwards, the course of the St. Lawrence. Thus St. Regis is placed at a sort of corner where the territory of the United States meets that of Upper Canada (*Ontario*), as well as that of Lower Canada (*Quebec*). The Indian name of St. Regis is *Ahquasosne*.

sent the Sovereign, the Council the House of Lords, and the Assembly the House of Commons. The members of the Legislative Councils were to be *discreet persons*, appointed for life by the Royal authority; those of the Assemblies, to be chosen by the people.

Thus Canada obtained what is called a *representative* form of Government, and thus, at length, was fulfilled the promise contained in the Royal Proclamation of 1763.

326. A full statement of the particulars of the new constitution would be too long for insertion in this book.* It is enough to say that while the "Habeas Corpus" was retained as a fundamental law of each Province, and while the interests of religion, both in regard to Protestants and Catholics, as well as taxation, and the tenure of land, were provided for in ways intended to be permanent, the two Provinces could now, in other respects, make laws to suit themselves.

The Act was to come in force not later than December 31st, 1791, and the date of meeting of the new legislatures to be not later than December 31st, 1792. †

327. The grand object of the new constitution, as explained by Mr. Pitt in the English Parliament, was to put an end to the competition, or rivalry, of the two races in Canada. The disputes and uncertainties respecting law and other matters, would, it was hoped, exist no longer, when the old French population and the new settlers from Britain, and from the American States, should have distinct legislatures for regulating their public affairs.

328. Lord Dorchester being absent in England, it devolved on General Alured Clarke, the Lieutenant Gover-

* The particulars relative to the new legislatures are set forth in 50 sections or clauses of the Act of Parliament introduced by Mr. Pitt in March, 1791.

† Another Act of the British Parliament set apart lands for the support of a Protestant Clergy.

The lands so set apart were to consist of one-seventh of all lands in the Province, not previously granted. They came to be called *Clergy Reserves*. Their amount was about 2½ millions of acres in Upper Canada, and one million in Lower Canada.

nor, to summon the first Parliament of Lower Canada. The election of members for the Assembly took place in June, 1792, and the meetings of the Council and Assembly began on December 17th following, at the city of Quebec.

The Legislative Council had 15 members, the House of Assembly had 50.

Lower Canada had been divided into 21 counties. Of these 18 were entitled to two members each. Three of the Counties, Gaspé, Bedford, and Orleans, returned only one member for each. The city of Quebec was represented by 4 members, Montreal by a like number, and Three Rivers by two.

The first meeting of the legislature of Upper Canada took place on September 17th, 1792. There were seven members in the Council, and sixteen in the Assembly. They met at Niagara, then called *Newark*.

329. In both Provinces the business of self-government was entered upon with zeal and spirit. But in order to see clearly how those early provincial parliaments conducted their work, and what was the nature of the political privileges which the people then enjoyed, it is necessary to describe some further particulars respecting their first meetings.

329. In Lower Canada, as soon as the two houses met, the Lieutenant Governor appointed a *Speaker* for the Legislative Council, and sanctioned the choice of Speaker made by the Assembly.

Then the Lieutenant Governor opened the session with a speech, addressed to the members of both houses, to which each house returned a formal reply.

The reply, or address, of the Assembly was filled with expressions of loyalty and thankfulness, on account of the new constitution conferred by the king and parliament of Great Britain.

Next, the Lieutenant Governor sent *messages* to the assembly relative to the conduct of business and enactment of laws. Later in the session, other messages were transmitted, one of which related to Education, and another informed the house that "the persons exercising the

supreme authority in France had declared war against the King of England.”*

To the latter message, the assembly returned a reply expressing horror of what had occurred in France, and praying for the success of His Majesty's arms.

The house assured the Lieutenant Governor of its readiness to put the militia on a proper footing, and to do whatever might be necessary for the protection of the Province from any insult and injury by His Majesty's enemies.

Upon the subject of education, respecting which a petition had been presented from the inhabitants of Quebec, the House passed an address to His Majesty, in which it was said that “the deplorable state of education in this Province had long been a matter of the deepest regret.” In the same address the King was besought to order that the property “heretofore possessed by the Jesuits in this Province be secured and applied to the education of the youth, according to the original intention of the donors, and as being most essential for promoting science and useful knowledge.”

A great many subjects—concerning expenses and revenue, salaries of officers, affairs appertaining to legislation and the welfare of the country—were discussed during the session, which lasted until May 1793. Nevertheless, only eight *bills* were passed. These were assented to in the king's name by the Lieutenant Governor, who then *prorogued* the parliament with a short speech, addressed to the members of both houses, assembled in the Chamber of the Legislative Council.

Although to many of the members the business of legislation was entirely new, and the proceedings witnessed for the first time in their lives, yet all were deeply interested and earnest in the discharge of these public duties by which they were kept away from their private concerns during upwards of four months. So much did the actors

* A dreadful *revolution* had broken out in France in 1789. King Louis XVI was put to death by his subjects.

in this infant Canadian parliament prize the political privileges they now enjoyed.

330. There was one question raised during the session, which for a time threatened to convert harmony into discord.

A number of English inhabitants had been elected to sit as members notwithstanding the vast majority of French electors. Soon after the House met, it came to be asked, in *what language* the business should be conducted. Much discussion took place on this point, some being in favour of the English language, and some of the French. In the end, it was agreed that members might propose resolutions and speak in the language most familiar to them—in fact, that both languages should be employed. In whichever language a resolution or a bill might at first be presented, it was to be translated into the other, while members might conduct the debates in either. This happy arrangement has ever since been observed, to the satisfaction of all.

331. The first session of the Upper Canada legislature was of much shorter duration than that held in the Lower Province. It continued only four weeks. But the same number of bills were passed. One of these provided for the introduction of the civil laws of England. Another established trial by jury in civil as well as criminal causes. An earnest, practical, and harmonious spirit, prevailed throughout the session, which was closed by Governor Simcoe with a patriotic speech on October 15th, 1792. *

332. The particulars stated in the preceding four articles will afford the young reader an insight into the way in which the earlier Canadian parliaments conducted their work. It is not necessary, even if it were possible, in this book, to relate the full details of succeeding sessions.

Lord Dorchester himself summoned the second meeting

* The Upper Canada legislature was called together earlier than that of Lower Canada, but it was at a season of the year much more inconvenient for the members, which may partly account for the session being so much shorter.

of the Lower Canada parliament in November 1793. He had returned from England in September of that year, and his welcome to Quebec was celebrated by a general illumination in the city. All classes seemed to be contented and loyal. * The great French revolution, causing in France such awful scenes of distress and bloodshed as the world had never seen before, was in progress. It made the Canadians feel that their transfer to the crown of England had now saved them from innumerable evils, which would have been their lot had Canada been again restored to France.

Lord Dorchester's popularity and personal influence were made useful in preventing the people of the Provinces from being misled by seditious persons, who came from France on purpose to tamper with them.

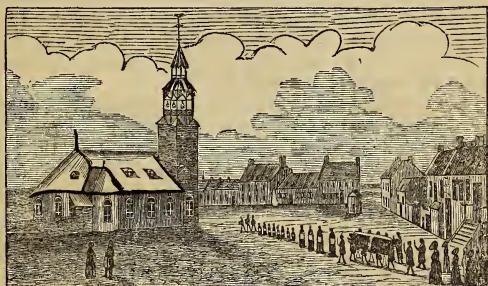
He finally left the country in 1796, after dissolving the first Parliament, which had now completed the appointed four years of its existence. †

The estimation in which he was held by the people of Canada, as well as the prevailing feelings of loyalty, were exhibited on the occasion of this popular governor's departure. He was admired and respected for his foresight, wisdom, and rectitude. In the farewell addresses presented to him by the citizens of Quebec and Montreal, the follow-

* Edward, Duke of Kent, the father of Queen Victoria, happened to be in Canada, with the troops, at the time when the second session of the Parliament was held. The assembly presented him with a cordial and affectionate address. In a similar way, the Legislative Council, clergy and citizens of Quebec, Montreal, and Three Rivers, displayed their sentiments towards the Prince, styling him, "the son of the best of Sovereigns." The Prince delighted all by his manners, and especially when he declared his disapproval of the terms "*the king's old and new subjects*," "*French and English inhabitants*." He said all were the king's "*Canadian subjects*."

† By the constitution of 1791, members were elected to serve in the Assembly four years, unless the Parliament should be sooner dissolved by the governor. Then the people were to elect the members of Assembly for the ensuing four years. Lord Dorchester had presided during the last three years of the first Parliament.

ing expressions occur : " during the period of your lordship's mild and auspicious government, the resources, prosperity, and happiness of this Province have increased in a degree almost unequalled. The length of your residence in the Province, the advantages to our society derived from the example of private virtues shewn by yourself and your family, your uniform, prudent, and paternal attention to the true interests of His Majesty's subjects entrusted to your care, cause us to regard your departure with the deepest regret.



The Parish (old) Church of Montreal.

"..... We request your lordship to assure our Sovereign of our loyalty and attachment, and to offer our gratitude for the various blessings we continue to enjoy under that most excellent constitution which we have received from His Majesty and his Parliament."

333. The comparatively happy condition of things indicated in the foregoing statements continued, with only slight interruptions, for about ten years after the departure of Lord Dorchester. But by the end of that time, causes of discord within, and signs of danger without, began to shew themselves plainly. These will be stated more fully in the ensuing chapter.

334. On the departure of Lord Dorchester, on July

9th, 1796, General Prescott became Lieutenant Governor. He conducted the affairs of the Province until July, 1799, when he was recalled, and his place supplied by another Lieutenant Governor—Sir Robert Milnes. *

Under these governors, harmony and progress were maintained in Lower Canada without any serious interruption. There is a good authority for saying that what have since been styled "*National origin*" prejudices were then scarcely felt or known—never publicly paraded. It is also recorded that "the habitual loyalty, politeness and chivalrous feeling of the French harmonized with the upright character and intelligence, which, in all countries distinguished the British merchant. The earth yielded, in abundance, food for men and beasts, and with but little labour—no taxes except for litigation and luxuries."

The revenue of the Province, derived chiefly from duties and licences, used to be from £20,000 to upwards of £30,000. The expenses exceeded those amounts, the payment of the difference being made up from the military chest, so that the inhabitants contributed nothing in the form of direct taxes.

335. A most striking proof of the loyalty of the people of the Province was afforded in 1806, which deserves to be mentioned.

The horrors of the French revolution had passed by, but Great Britain and France were still engaged in a desperate war. By land, on the continent of Europe, the French, under Napoleon I, were every where victorious against the countries in alliance with Great Britain. But England, by sea, was more than a match for France, and, on October, 21st, 1805, won the battle of *Trafalgar*, by which the French naval power was destroyed.

The news of this victory reached Canada early in January 1806. The Canadians of French origin immediately

* General Prescott's connection with Lower Canada seems not to have ceased until 1805. He was named Governor General in 1797, but was absent from 1799. Then Sir Robert Milnes, who was never appointed Governor General, acted as Lieutenant Governor in the Province during the ensuing six years, until 1805

shewed that they felt less sympathy for their own race in Europe and less pride in its military prowess, than gratification at the naval success of the empire of which they formed a part. They indulged in patriotic songs, and testified their interest by illuminations, and other modes of rejoicing.

336. In the mean time, the Province of Upper Canada was making rapid progress.

Governor Simcoe was recalled in 1796, and, although no regular successor was appointed until 1799, the affairs of the Province were conducted prosperously by Mr. Russell, the senior member of the Legislative Council. * The seat of government was changed from Niagara to Toronto, then called *York*. There the Legislature assembled from year to year, and continued to pass measures, such as the state of the Province demanded.

Upper Canada had at first been divided into four districts, and these subdivided into 12 counties each. A considerable trade sprang up with the neighbouring States, by way of Lake Ontario. Articles of commerce could be more readily brought in by that route than by the St. Lawrence, on account of the rapids, and other impediments, which then obstructed the passage of loaded vessels up and down the river. Revenue was raised by imposing duties on such articles, whether from the United States or from England. Emigrants from the British Isles, and, more numerous, from the States, continued to arrive every season. By the year 1805, when governor Hunter was recalled, the population had increased to upwards of 80,000.

337. In Upper, as well as in Lower Canada, the first fifteen or sixteen years' experience of the new constitution had been very encouraging. All concerned in working it out, during that period, kept as clear as possible from causes of discord. The consequence was, that harmony

* When the office of Governor, or Lieutenant Governor, in either Province, became vacant, the President of the Executive Council, or its senior member, performed the duties until a successor arrived.

and good progress marked the early career of each Province, and might have afforded the prospect of a happy future.

But, alas ! sources of mischief, as has already been hinted in respect to Lower Canada, began to appear in Upper Canada also.

CHAPTER SECOND.

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.—DISSENSIONS IN UPPER CANADA.—THE DISPUTES ARISING OUT OF THE "GAOLS' ACT."—PATRIOTIC SPIRIT IN LOWER CANADA.—SIR JAMES CRAIG'S ADMINISTRATION.—SIR GEORGE PREVOST.—(A. D. 1805-1812.)

338. We have now to contemplate a less pleasant aspect of public affairs in Canada. From about 1805, dissensions in the legislatures, and dissatisfaction among the people, began to present themselves, and grew to be more and more serious every year. Then, in 1812, the country was invaded by the forces of the United States, and again afflicted with the horrors of war.

The leading events and incidents of the ten years, from 1805 to 1815, will occupy our attention in this and in the following chapter.

339. In Upper Canada, as was also the case in the Lower Province, there was a body styled the *Executive Council*, consisting of persons whom the Governor or Lieutenant Governor had to assist him in carrying on the government. Such a Council was established immediately after the transfer of Canada to England. There were no laws to regulate its duties or proceedings, and it was not dependent upon or responsible to the Legislature created by the Act of 1791. * But such a body had very great influence, for good or evil, according to the ways in which

* The members of the Executive Councils of the present day are all persons *responsible* to the Legislature. If a majority of members of either House vote against them in disapproval of their course, they are obliged to resign. This is substantially what is called *responsible government*.

it might induce the governor to exercise his powers and discharge his duties.

In Canada, at the times of which we now speak, the members of the Executive Council were mostly persons belonging to, or connected with, the Legislative Council. Some were judges, and men receiving salaries as public officers. This came to be thought a bad state of things. In Upper Canada there arose two *parties* in the Legislature, and among the people, one of which desired that the Executive Council should have in it no persons holding other public employments, or likely to be guided by any other motive than a concern for the public welfare. The other party strove to support the Council in all its proceedings and privileges. The Council itself favoured its own supporters. It conferred upon them offices and advantages, without regard to their fitness, but excluded their opponents. *

In course of time these two parties came to be much embittered in their feelings towards each other.

In Lower Canada, the same, or even a worse, state of things existed. Legislative Councillors and paid public officers formed the great majority of members of the Executive Council. Besides, persons born in the Province were very seldom admitted to be Executive Councillors.

340. It was also one of the grievances, in Lower Canada, that Protestants alone were appointed Executive Councillors, and that, while the chief Protestant ecclesiastic was

* Among the abuses growing out of this the following have been cited : granting *patents* or titles to lands in favour of their own friends and refusing the same to others ; appointing needy and unprincipled persons to the charge of money, provisions, utensils, &c, granted by the British Government for the benefit of the Indian tribes and poor loyalists ; protecting persons from punishment when convicted of unlawful conduct in connection with the administration of law : appointing as masters of public schools persons entirely disqualified by reason of their previous habits and ignorance ; appointing shop-keepers and dealers to be magistrates and allowing them to use their power unjustly in extorting payment from their debtors ; and other like abuses.

admitted, the Roman Catholic church was not allowed to be represented. Great offence was caused by this to the majority of the inhabitants, which was made to be felt the more keenly by the determination of the Council not to acknowledge the title or even the existence of a Roman Catholic *Bishop* in the Province.

341. Connected with religion, there was another serious grievance of which the majority and their clergy complained. In the year 1800, through the influence of the Executive Council, the chief care of education in the province was assigned to a body called the Royal Institution, wholly composed of Protestants.

342. In Upper Canada, after the recall of Governor Hunter in 1805, Mr. Gore was appointed Lieutenant Governor. Under him, notwithstanding the mutual opposition of the two parties as already mentioned, that Province continued to advance rapidly in population and resources. Education was cared for by providing payment of salaries for masters of Grammar schools in each of the eight districts which had now been formed. Money was also appropriated for the construction of roads and bridges. Mr. Gore returned to England in 1811, leaving general Brock to fill his place during his absence.

343. When Sir Robert Milnes relinquished, in 1805, the government of Lower Canada, the President of the Executive Council, Mr. Dunn, conducted the public business, until the year 1807.

At this time some excitement existed on account of an Act which had been passed providing that gaols should be erected, and their cost paid out of duties to be levied on goods imported from England. The merchants objected to this, as being injurious to commerce, and unjust towards themselves. They and their friends insisted that the amount required should be raised by a tax on agriculture, or land. In consequence, a warm dispute arose, and petitions on the subject were sent to the king, who confirmed the act of the Provincial Legislature. Commerce had so far increased that about 200 ships in a season came to Quebec from beyond sea, besides coasters and small craft from the

gulf. It was thought, therefore, that trade would suffer less than agriculture through the levying of the proposed tax. But it was an unhappy result of the dispute that former feelings of animosity were revived between the inhabitants of English and those of French origin; for the English were most interested in commerce, while the French favoured agriculture.

344. The feelings referred to in the last article were inflamed by the compositions of newspaper writers. Ever since 1764, a paper, called "The Gazette," had been published in Quebec. In 1778, the "Gazette of Montreal" had been started.

The "*Quebec Mercury*" made its first appearance in 1805, and, in November of the following year, the "*Canadien*," in the French language. † The last named publication was professedly brought out in defence of the character of Canadians, and to instruct those of French origin in regard to their rights as British subjects.

The *Montreal Gazette* and the *Quebec Mercury* on one side, and the *Canadien*, on the other, published highly exciting and offensive articles. Infinite ill-feeling was thus roused and fostered, producing effects all the more injurious to the community because those newspapers were very ably conducted. During many succeeding years the writers in the English papers indulged in expressions disparaging to the character and habits of the majority. In return, the supporters of the *Canadien* treated of every thing of British origin insultingly, calling their opponents "*strangers and intruders*."

From this period was confirmed "the reign of agitation and discord which afterwards unhappily distracted the Province."

345. From this time also, whenever there was an election of members to sit in the House of Assembly, the

† There were in all 5 newspapers in Lower Canada in the early part of the present century—namely: The *Gazette*, *Mercury*, *Canadien* of Quebec, The *Courant* and *Gazette* of Montreal. The *Gazette* of Montreal was in both languages.

voters were carefully instructed to exclude, as far as possible, persons of British origin. In consequence, this House came to consist almost exclusively of French members. But as the Executive and Legislative Councils were made up chiefly of English members, the result was that the Assembly, and those other bodies, opposed each other. Unseemly debates, and intended hindrances to legislation on important objects, ensued.

Such were some of the earliest fruits of the revival of prejudice and animosity on account of differences of race.

346. Although some very bad feeling had now sprung up in the hearts of the people—especially in Lower Canada—there is no reason for supposing that these were attended with any diminution of loyalty or any indifference about the safety of the country. On the contrary, in 1807, when the Americans talked openly of coming to take the Provinces, the inhabitants of all classes eagerly testified their readiness to repel any invasion. The Americans imagined that they would be welcomed by all of French origin, owing to the well known dissensions. Mr. Dunn, however, issued an order for a portion of the militia to hold themselves in readiness to take the field. The people responded with alacrity, offering themselves to be drafted for service, and volunteering in great numbers. * When the *balloting* took place, those who were drawn as militiamen were envied by those who were not. Even money was, in many instances, offered by those who had not been drawn, with the hope of inducing the others to change places. The display of patriotic feeling, not only at Quebec, Montreal and Three Rivers, but also in the country parts, was most gratifying to President Dunn, and called forth his public acknowledgments. He stated, in his general order, that “he felt justified in asserting that a more ardent devotion to His Majesty’s government had never been witnessed in any part of the British dominions. . . . he should consider it

* Bishop Plessis, prepared a pastoral letter in which he enjoined his people to testify their patriotism and ready obedience to the president’s summons. It was read in the churches.

the highest happiness of his life to have had such an opportunity of doing justice to the zeal, loyalty and public spirit, of his majesty's subjects in this Province."

Colonel Brock was their senior military officer at Quebec, and superintended improvements in the garrison and fortifications of the city. *

347. Unhappily, this excellent spirit of patriotism, displayed by the people at large, was not followed up by a corresponding spirit of concord among the members of the Legislature.

General Sir James Craig, appointed Governor-in-chief in 1807, called together the last meeting of the fourth Provincial Parliament, early in 1808. The Assembly determined to exclude judges, and also Jews, from having seats and votes in their House. They passed a resolution, accordingly, to prevent the attendance of Ezekiel Hart, the chosen member for Three Rivers, because he was of the Jewish persuasion; and, with respect to judges, adopted a Bill for their exclusion. This Bill the Legislative Council rejected. These signs of discord were shewn, between the Assembly and the electors of Three Rivers, and between the Assembly and the Legislative Council.

In the following session—the first of the fifth Parliament—the House of Assembly manifested a disposition still less favourable to harmony. First, it elected as its Speaker one who was not acceptable to the governor and Executive Council. *

Next, whole weeks were employed by the Assembly in discussions about excluding judges and Jews, until, at length, Bills were passed relating to their cases. But the governor was displeased at all this, and used his power of

* A line of *Martello towers* was commenced outside the city on the Plains of Abraham.

* *Mr. Panet* had been already four times chosen Speaker and was now elected the fifth time. But it happened that he and several others had been dismissed from the Militia service, on account of alleged connection with the *Canadien*, regarded by the Governor as a seditious publication.

dissolving the House. When he did so, he freely expressed his disapprobation of their proceedings, telling them, "you have wasted in fruitless debates, excited by private and personal animosity or by frivolous contests, that time and those talents to which, within your walls, the public have an exclusive title." This was in 1809. A new election of members then took place, when nearly all the same persons were re-elected, which shewed that the majority of the people sided with the Assembly against the governor and his Council.

Again, the House and the Legislative Council disagreed about the case of the judges, and the former was proceeding to expel a judge, named *de Bonne*, when the Governor again used his power to dissolve the Parliament, on February 26th, 1810.

This second dissolution of the Legislature was followed by displays of party feeling throughout the community. The two parties which had begun to be openly opposed to each other in the time of the "gaol question," in 1805 and 1806, now, in 1810, kept no terms with each other, and the people of the Province were now as much divided as if they had occupied two hostile camps. On the one side, with the Governor, the Executive and Legislative Councils, were nearly all the English speaking inhabitants, the Protestants, and the Merchants. On the other, were the great majority of the people, the descendants of the ancient occupants of the country.*

Such was the state of feeling in the Province in the years 1810 and 1811, when the governor, whose health was now

* Shortly after the dissolution of parliament the office of the *Canadien* was forcibly taken possession of by the Governor's orders. The printer was imprisoned, and all papers in the office seized and examined. Afterwards three members of the late Assembly, and also three other French Canadian gentlemen, were arrested and thrown into prison on charges of *treason*. They were kept a long time confined without any trial.

These proceedings, and general Craig's resolute mode of dealing with the parliaments, caused this period to be nicknamed "*the reign of terror*."

broken, returned to England. He was succeeded by Sir George Prevost.

348. Sir George Prevost endeavoured, as far as possible, to allay the discord which he found reigning in the Province. By restoring to their commands those who had been dismissed from the militia, and by appointing to offices of trust those who had been opposed to the Government of his predecessor, he partially succeeded.

But soon, war being declared between England and the United States, the defence of the Province absorbed the attention of all.

CHAPTER THIRD.

THE AMERICAN WAR OF 1812.—PREPARATIONS.—INVASION AND PROCLAMATION BY GENERAL HULL.—GENERAL BROCK.—DETROIT.—QUEENSTON HEIGHTS.—CAMPAIGN OF 1813.—GENERAL PROCTOR.—GENERAL VINCENT.—SIR GORDON DRUMMOND.—DE SALABERRY.—COL. MORRISON.—CAMPAIGN OF 1814.—LA COLLE.—BATTLE OF CHIPPEWA AND LUNDY'S LANE.—PLATTSBURG.—PEACE OF GHENT.—BEHAVIOUR OF INHABITANTS DURING THE WAR. (A. D. 1812-1815).

349. The war of 1812 between England and the United States was of vital consequence to Canada, and the reasons which made it so deserve particular notice in this part of our history.

In the first place, the Americans had been declaring, for several years, that they would take the Provinces. They had even boasted of the ease with which the intended conquest could be made by them, whenever they pleased.

Secondly, the Americans believed, or pretended to do so, that the majority of the people, owing to dissensions, and a desire to be free from the mother country, would not take part against them in this contest with Great Britain. It was therefore clear that the future lot of Canada was at stake, and it remained to be seen whether the people of the Provinces, would, or could, do anything effectual, to hinder the Americans from taking possession by force.

Lastly, this part of Canadian history is important, and interesting, from the lessons it teaches, for the benefit of succeeding generations, both of Americans and Canadians. War was first declared by the Americans themselves on June 18th, 1812, and very soon afterwards active hostilities against Canada commenced. †

350. Preparations had been made beforehand in the United States and in Canada. In the latter, the militia had been organized in four battalions. A regiment of Canadian *Voltigeurs* had been raised, and placed under Major de Salaberry. Three thousand British troops, regulars, were held in readiness, in garrison, at Quebec and Montreal, while fifteen hundred more were stationed in Upper Canada, at Kingston, York, Niagara and Amherstburg. The Americans, on their side, had concentrated 2500 men not far from Amherstburg. Six thousand troops were collected near Niagara, and seven thousand more to operate against Montreal.

The Legislatures both of Lower and Upper Canada were convened. Patriotic resolutions were passed in both, and money provided for the expenses of the war. In Upper Canada, general Brock was Lieutenant Governor and Commander-in-chief. The government of Great Britain did not learn the declaration of war until some time after the beginning of hostilities in America, and the war against France was being actively prosecuted in Spain, and by sea. Consequently, the additions made to the British force in Canada were very slender during the year 1812. The first

† The following are some of the alleged causes of the war : the desire of the Americans to gain possession of Canada ; disputes about the detention of American ships trading with France, the enemy of England ; stoppage of American ships at sea by the English for the purpose of searching for deserters ; the endeavours of the government of France to incite a quarrel between England and the United States ; the ideas of the leading members of the American government that the power of Napoleon I was established permanently, and that England was going down, and also that the dissensions in Canada would prevent the people of the Provinces from defending themselves. The *Motto* of the Americans was "Sailors' rights and the freedom of the seas."

shock of war, had, in fact to be borne by the inhabitants, with the aid of only 4500 regulars.

351. In order to comprehend the course of events in 1812, we must take notice, separately, of those which occurred at the several points of attack—namely, at Michillimakinac, Amherstburg and Detroit, the Niagara frontier, and the region of Lake Champlain.

The first blow was struck by the British at Michillimakinac. A company of regulars, with 160 Canadian Voltigeurs, and 800 Indians, moved from the British post on the Island of St. Joseph, and, on July 16th, landed at Michillimakinac, where there was an American garrison of about 70 men. This post was at once surrendered. The American trade between Lakes Michigan and Huron was thus interrupted, and a feeling of confidence inspired among the Indian and Canadian traders of those distant regions.*

About the same time, the American forces crossed from Detroit into Upper Canada, and commenced operations against Sandwich and Amherstburg. Finding their communication with Detroit threatened by a detachment of the

* Michillimakinac in the Indian tongue meant the *Great Turtle*. The island is nine or ten miles in circuit. The French missionaries had a station on the neighbouring mainland 140 years before, and in the times of Governor Frontenac and his successors thought the post very important for the carrying on of the fur trade. It was one of the places whose garrisons were massacred by the savages in the time of Pontiac's conspiracy, in 1764.

In 1812, when a force of British and Indians took it from the Americans, as related in the text, the Indian tribes immediately turned against the latter, and stopped their trade between Lakes Huron and Michigan. Captain Roberts commanded the British, and Lieutenant Hancks the Americans. When the place was surrendered the news was spread among the Indian tribes very quickly, and, soon afterwards, couriers brought the tidings to the chiefs south and west of Lake Michigan. Many of these then decided to join the British in attacking the Americans at Detroit. In this way the capture of Michillimakinac became a serious disaster to the Americans, who tried to retake the post, but could not. It was given back to them at the peace, in 1815.

The name Michillimakinac is now shortered to *Mackinac*,—pronounced *Makinaw*.

British, which crossed into American territory from Amherstburg, the Americans retired to their first position. They were commanded by general Hull, who issued a proclamation headed "Inhabitants of Canada." He had 2500 men. Some skirmishing occurred, followed by a fight, in which the Americans gained the advantage, but lost 75 men, on August 9th.

General Brock, having closed the public business at York, arrived at Amherstburg on August 13th, with all the regulars and militia he could collect. On the 15th, he crossed to attack Detroit, at the head of 700 regulars and militia, with artillery, and 600 Indians. General Hull, notwithstanding his somewhat boastful and threatening proclamation, alluded to above, did not defend Detroit. He surrendered the place by capitulation on August 16th. The American officers and the regulars were sent, prisoners of war, to Quebec, while the militia were allowed to go home, on condition of not serving again during war. *

General Brock would have followed up his successes by attacking the American fort Niagara, which stood on the right bank of the river, opposite to the British post Fort George. But, before he could do anything in that quarter, he received word from Sir George Prevost that an armistice had been concluded.

The American force intended to move upon Montreal by way of Lake Champlain, had its head quarters at Albany.

* The people of Upper Canada owed much to General Brock's skilful and vigorous management. But for him, the valour of the few regulars and of the militia might not have sufficed against the American forces to save the country from being ravaged and occupied. Hull, in his proclamation, had threatened death to the inhabitants if found fighting by the side of Indians. But Brock declared that the Indians had interests to fight for—property, families, homes, and country—as much as the people of Canada, notwithstanding Hull's pretended desire to confer the blessings of freedom upon all on the British side of the frontiers.

After the war, Hull was accused, by his own government, of cowardice and treason, because he failed to conquer the British. But if he had succeeded, it is thought they would have called him a hero.

It was commanded by general Dearborn. Sir George Prevost having received news from England which made him believe that the war between the two countries might be concluded by negotiation, proposed an armistice, to which general Dearborn agreed. But as the President of the United States did not sanction it, hostilities were resumed on September 8th.

352. Meanwhile, the Americans made great exertions to collect militia from Ohio and Kentucky, for further operations near Detroit, and to provide a superior naval force on Lakes Erie and Ontario, under commodore Chauncey. They also augmented their strength at the other points along the extended line of frontier.

The authorities in Canada, uncertain in what direction the next principal movement would be made, also placed their forces in readiness wherever there seemed to be the greatest likelihood of an attack. A fifth battalion of Canadian Voltigeurs was embodied. A line of posts along the frontiers was established, between Yamaska and St. Regis.

On the Niagara frontier, 1200 British troops occupied a line between forts Erie and George, to oppose about 6000 Americans, assembled at Fort Niagara, Lewiston, Black Rock and Buffalo. Some companies of regulars and militia were stationed at Queenstown, opposite to Lewiston.

353. On October 11th, the enemy crossed from Lewiston, and effected a landing near Queenstown. They gained possession of a hill in the neighbourhood, from which general Brock at the head of the 49th regiment advanced to dislodge them. A desperate conflict ensued. On this occasion, the valiant Brock—noted for all the qualities which make up the character of an accomplished soldier—received his death-wound and expired on the field. The Americans continued to land in overwhelming numbers, and the British were compelled to retire, leaving the enemy in possession of the heights. General Sheaffe, upon whom the command devolved, came up soon afterwards with reinforcements. Two hundred and fifty Indians accompanied the British, who were ordered to ascend and renew

the battle. The Indians, advancing more rapidly than the soldiers, were at first repulsed.

The British, however, moved forward steadily, and arriving near the enemy, quickened their pace. Their cheers, together with the war-whoop of the savages, assisted in spreading consternation in the ranks of the Americans. These, before the final onset could be made, broke and fled in all directions. Many were killed in falling down the precipitous heights, or in attempts to swim across the river. The Indians commenced an indiscriminate slaughter. Nine hundred men, with a multitude of officers, were taken prisoners. The killed, wounded, and missing, on the American side, were nearly 600.

This was an important victory, but was dearly purchased by the loss of the gallant Brock.* The British loss was seventy-one non-commissioned officers and men, general Brock and colonel McDonnell being the only officers killed.†

Thus was the second attempt to invade Upper Canada signally foiled.

354. After the battle of Queenston Heights, the Americans under general Smyth were made to believe that they were about to be again led across the Niagara river. ‡

* General Brock was a native of Guernsey. He had served with the 49th regiment at Copenhagen, under Lord Nelson. He was beloved by the soldiers, and by the people of Upper Canada. The Indians who joined his standard were extremely attached to him. He was only 42 years old when he thus fell in the service of his country.

He was buried at Fort George, in the same grave with his aide-de-camp, colonel McDonnell, who had also fallen at the battle of Queenston Heights.

A lofty monument, erected to his memory, now marks the scene of his victory and glorious death.

† *John Brandt*, a young Mohawk chief, was present with his warriors at the battle of Queenston.

General Wadsworth, a militia officer, commanded the Americans. He was taken prisoner, as also colonel Scott, afterwards the noted commander-in-chief of the American army.

‡ General Smyth issued a bombastic proclamation on November 17th, 1812, in which he said: "You, companions in arms, will

On the morning of November 28th, an abortive attempt was made to land between forts Erie and Chippewa. Soon afterwards, insubordination shewed itself in the American camp. Sickness and desertion had thinned the ranks. Presently, general Smyth took to flight, to save his life from his indignant followers.

Some skirmishing had also taken place near St. Regis, in Lower Canada.

355. In the mean time the American commander-in-chief, general Dearborn, had collected a corps of 7000 men at Plattsburg on lake Champlain. He advanced as far as *Champlain*, a village near to the Canadian frontiers on November 15th. Several British regiments, and 900 Lower Canadian militia, were at once moved from Montreal to meet the invaders. The out-posts of the hostile armies had a slight collision. General Dearborn had 10,000 men. But he learned that the whole population of the district of Montreal were inspired with enthusiasm, and eager to fall upon his troops, before they should advance far into the Province. As he saw that he must fail in any attempt to advance in the face of three well appointed British regiments, with 900 militia, supported by the good will and hearty assistance of all the inhabitants, Dearborn prudently withdrew into winter quarters at Plattsburg and Burlington.

356. The campaign of 1812 being brought to a close, with results which reflected gloriously on Canada, and, in several respects, disgracefully on the Americans, the Provincial Legislatures met at York and Quebec, respectively. Further provision was made for the support of the war. The Assemblies were thanked in the name of the Prince Regent of England. Sir George Prevost told the House of Assembly of Lower Canada that "with satisfaction he had been a witness of that public spirit, and that love of their country, their religion, and laws, which could not fail,

enter a country that is to be one of the United States. But it is not against the citizens we come to make war. It is against the government that holds them as vassals..... come on, my heroes! and when you attack the enemy's batteries let your rallying word be, *the cannon lost at Detroit or Death!*"

under Divine Providence, to make them safe at home and respected abroad."

357. The campaign of 1813 commenced very early in the year. Indeed, it may be said that it began in the middle of the winter of 1812-13.

The plan of the Americans was, substantially, as follows : to recover Detroit and assail Upper Canada again at its western extremity, by way of Amherstburg ; to resume operations on the Niagara frontier, where were the British posts fort Erie, Chippewa, and fort George ; to capture Kingston and York (Toronto) on Lake Ontario ; and, lastly, to move against Montreal from Lake Champlain.

As it would be impossible, in this book, to relate in detail all the incidents connected with the long campaign of 1813, we must confine our attention to the principal events.

358. In January, 1813, the Americans commenced operation by moving from Sandusky, where they had collected a considerable force. Colonel Proctor, the British commander at Detroit, found an opportunity of falling upon a corps of 1100 men, belonging to that force, at a place called French Town, on the 22nd of January.

He gained a complete victory, although he lost nearly 200 men, about 250 of the enemy were killed and upwards of 500 taken prisoners, together with the American commander and many officers. Proctor's force consisted of 500 regulars and militia and 600 Indians. He was afterwards reinforced. The Indians were under Tecumseh.

General Proctor gained great distinction by the courage, skill, and activity, with which he conducted operations, during the whole season, against vastly superior forces.

Sometimes he was repulsed with loss, at other times he succeeded in inflicting severe defeats. On April 23rd, he gained a signal victory near fort Meigs on the river Miami. On this occasion, by a skilful movement, he defeated a considerable body of the enemy, of whom 200 were killed and wounded, and 500 taken prisoners. In the end, towards October, he evacuated Detroit and Amherstberg. Being followed by the Americans, he, with difficulty, effected his retreat, having, at last, only 200 men remaining.

One principal cause which led to Procter's retreat was the superiority gained by the Americans, under Commodore Perry, on Lake Erie. Several encounters had occurred between the armed flotillas of the English and Americans. On September 10th, a desperate battle took place which



PORTRAIT OF TECUMSEH.

ended in the complete defeat of the English, whose entire fleet was taken. After that, it became necessary for the British to withdraw from Detroit, Amherstberg, and all the minor positions west of Lake Erie. *

359. During the winter of 1812-13, the Americans had made forays into the territory north of Lake Ontario. These were conducted after the ancient fashion of the

* When Procter retreated he passed up the River Thames. The baggage and provisions of his army were carried in batteaux, which were soon overtaken and captured by the Americans under

New England colonists and Canadians, in what used to be called by the latter "*la petite guerre*."

These expeditions were the means inflicting cruel injuries upon the inhabitants of Upper Canada. At Brockville, houses were burnt and many peaceable persons seized and carried off as prisoners into the United States. In retaliation, the British attacked Ogdensburg, one of the principal American stations, where the raids were planned. This place, and a fort in the neighbourhood, were captured after a severe struggle. We must now notice the course of events on the Niagara frontier.

360. In April, 1813, American troops, to the number of 2000 men, sailed from Sackett's Harbour to attack York, which was garrisoned by 600 British regulars and militia. The British retreated towards Kingston after losing 130 men. From York the expedition crossed to the mouth of the Niagara river, and the troops were landed there, in order to assist in the operations against the British forts on that frontier. General Vincent, the English commander, had under him about 2300 men, while the total American force was 7000. Some severe fighting occurred in which the British suffered great loss. General Vincent, unable to cope with an enemy so much superior in number, retired, evacuating forts George and Erie. Pursued by the enemy, and almost entirely surrounded, the position of the English became critical. Colonel Sir John Harvey proposed an attempt to deliver themselves from their perilous situation by making a night attack with the bayonet upon their pursuers. General Vincent assented, and the attack was completely successful. In consequence, the Americans, in their turn, retreated from Stony Creek, where the battle occurred, to Fort George. The affair of Stony Creek took place on the night of the 5th of June.

General Harrison. Proctor with Tecumseh, and his Indians continued retreating until on Oct. 5th, it was resolved to make a stand near Moravian Town. Proctor's reduced force was completely defeated, and he, himself barely escaped with 200 men. Tecumseh was slain, after maintaining a desperate fight at the head of his warriors.

No further movement of any consequence occurred on the Niagara frontier until the following October. Then, the American troops, after leaving garrisons in fort George and fort Niagara, sailed for Sackett's Harbour, in order to take part in an intended advance on Montreal. But in December, Sir Gordon Drummond, who had come to assume the command in Upper Canada, resolved to attempt the capture of fort Niagara, into which the garrison of fort George had retired. He caused the place to be attacked in the night of December 18th, when it was taken with trifling loss. Sir Gordon then despatched 1000 men, of whom one half were Indians, across the Niagara to Lewiston. This place was burnt in retaliation for cruel and disgraceful conduct on the part of the Americans towards the inhabitants of Newark, when they were about to evacuate fort George. He also sent troops and Indians to burn the towns of Black Rock and Buffalo. *

+ 361. We have next to notice what was intended to be the grand and decisive operation of the season. This was the combined movement of the Americans directed against Montreal.

With the aid of the forces which had been engaged in the attack upon York, and against the British stations on the Niagara, and which were to descend the river St. Lawrence to Lake St. Louis, a strong corps from Lake Champlain was to advance upon that city.

The troops for the purpose were collected at Burlington and Plattsburg, from which latter place 7000 infantry and 250 cavalry with 10 pieces of cannon proceeded northwards and crossed the boundary into Canada.

Detachments from the main body plundered the Canadian settlements on Missisquoi Bay.

Again, the inhabitants of the Montreal district eagerly offered themselves for service against the invaders.

The Governor called out and armed all the militia. Colonel de Salaberry with 400 Canadian Voltigeurs skirmi-

* The Americans complained bitterly of the destruction of these places by the British, and, especially, of the barbarities committed by the Indians.

shed with the enemy, and then fell back into an excellent position on the river Chateauguay. Here on October 24th, 1813, one of the most important battles of the war was fought, between a division of the American force, 3500 strong, and a mere handful of Canadians, under de Salaberry. This gallant officer employed stratagem to conceal his weakness, and supplied, by means of skill, courage, and an advantageous position, the deficiency in numbers. Very few British soldiers were present, so that the battle which ensued was fought almost entirely by French Canadian militia and the Voltigeurs. The Americans, under general Hampton and Colonel Purdy, tried in vain to force the position, by means of attacks in front and rear. Finding all efforts ineffectual, and not aware of the enormous inferiority, in point of numbers, of the Canadian force, the American general withdrew from the combat, leaving the Canadians masters of the field.

The fortunate result of the battle of Chateauguay, was, the retreat of the whole American host, which shortly afterwards began to retrace its steps towards Plattsburg. The Canadian marksmen, militia, and volunteers, collected in large numbers, hung upon the flanks and rear of the discomfited invaders and inflicted upon them considerable loss.

Meanwhile a similar fate befel the American forces descending the St. Lawrence to join in Hampton's intended advance on Montreal. They reached the outlet of Lake Ontario about the end of October. Having arrived, on November 9th, at the head of the Long Sault, the troops were landed on the Canadian shore. One division marched onwards to Cornwall. The remainder were to follow as soon as the first should be known to have arrived at that place, after sending down the flotilla which had conveyed them from Sackett's Harbour.

It had become known in the garrison at Kingston that this armament had passed down. Colonel Morrison, with 800 picked men, and a few gunboats, cautiously followed in the tracks of the Americans. Arriving at Point Iroquois, Morrison's soldiers landed and marched along the Cana-

dian bank of the river, until they approached so near to the division of Americans, which had been left at the head of the Long Sault, that skirmishing occurred between the outposts.

General Wilkinson commanded the Americans. Becoming aware of the presence of the British he determined to fall upon them with his whole division. Every available man of the flotilla was landed, to take part in the encounter.

On November 11th, Morrison found himself, with his 800 men, exposed to the assault of a force of at least 3500 men, consisting of two brigades of infantry with six field pieces, a regiment of cavalry, and the spare men of the flotilla.

It was at a place called Chrysler's Farm. In spite of the disparity of numbers the Americans were completely beaten. One of their guns and 100 men were taken, while their killed and wounded amounted to 340. The Americans did not renew the conflict, but re-embarked in their boats on the night after the action. Next day, the two divisions being re-united, they descended as far as Salmon River and landed there on the right bank, or American side, of the St. Lawrence. Afterwards they burnt their flotilla, and retreated to Plattsburg and Burlington, their rear-guard being followed and harrassed by about 1200 British troops, sent across from Cornwall.

Thus ingloriously terminated the combined movement against Montreal in 1813.

362. If the experience gained in the campaign of 1812 had failed to teach the Americans, that of 1813 made it perfectly clear to them that the conquest of the Canadas was an undertaking beyond their ability. Great Britain had, as yet, not put forth her full strength in the defence of her Provinces. A comparatively small number of regulars, with the militia and Voltigeurs, had alone sufficed to repel invasion.

Besides, several of the States disapproved of the war upon the Provinces, as being unjust and disgraceful. Maryland, Massachusetts Connecticut and Rhode Island,

refused to send militia or to join in attacking those whom one of the American orators styled "the harmless colonists of Canada." * The commerce of the United States was also suffering through the blockade of their coasts by the British fleets.

Nevertheless the majority in Congress determined to proceed, and adopted measures for prosecuting the war with vigour in 1814.

363. The Legislature of Lower Canada was called

* The conduct of the Americans in many places during their brief occupation of parts of Upper Canada was loudly denounced, even by some influential persons in the States. It caused ill-feeling so intense among the Provincials themselves that long after the war ended angry sentiments continued to subsist.

In a proclamation dated January 12th, 1814, Governor Sir George Prevost thus notices the American outrages "when the first invasion of Upper Canada took place in July, 1812, the American forces under General Hull began to manifest a disposition different from that of a magnanimous enemy, and this they have since invariably displayed in dooming the property of his Majesty's loyal subjects to plunder and fire." Then allusion is made to the forbearance of the British when they had Detroit and the Michigan territory in their hands; and in like manner, at Ogdensburg and Plattsburg. Of the evacuation of Fort George it is stated in the same proclamation, "For some time previous they burned and destroyed the farm houses of the peaceable inhabitants. But the full measure of this species of barbarity was reserved to be completed at a season when its horrors might be more keenly felt by its wretched victims. It will hardly be credited by those who shall hereafter read it in the page of history that in the 19th century, and in the inclemency of a Canadian winter, the troops of a nation calling itself civilized and Christian, had wautonly and without the shadow of a pretext forced 400 helpless women and children to be spectators of the destruction by fire of all that belonged to them. Yet such was the fate of the inhabitants of Newark, on December 10th, a day which the inhabitants of Upper Canada can never forget and the recollection of which will nerve their arms when again opposed to their vindictive foe. The American troops, being about to evacuate Fort George, by an act of inhumanity disgraceful to themselves and their nation, set fire to 150 houses composing the beautiful village, leaving without shelter those innocent, unfortunate, distressed, inhabitants, whom the commanding officer had previously engaged to protect."

together on January 13th, 1814. The Governor after congratulating the assembly on the events of the campaign, and especially on the victories of Chateaugay and Chrysler's farm, informed them, in a confidential message, of the need of larger provision to cover future war expenses. The House passed votes of thanks to Colonel de Salaberry and Colonel Morrison, and to their officers respectively. Provision to a very large amount was made for future expenses.

During the session the want of concord between the Assembly and Legislative Councils was shewn in the rejection, by the latter, of several bills passed by the former. In fact a want of unanimity between the two branches of the legislature was shewn in various ways. It would perhaps have produced an open rupture but for the perilous nature of the times, owing to the war.

364. In recommencing hostilities in 1814, the American Government no longer looked forward to the early or easy conquest of Canada. Their plans for the campaign were as follows: to retake Michillimakinac and to renew the invasion of Upper Canada by the Niagara frontier; to capture and destroy Kingston; and, to direct, as before, an army against the Montreal frontier from Lake Champlain. The second of these undertakings, that against Kingston, was to be made dependent on the success of the first. But it was never even commenced, as the first failed. The operations against the Montreal frontier were more for the purpose of attracting attention from Niagara and Kingston than with any real design of marching into Lower Canada by that route.

365. Great Britain was now in a position to send effective reinforcements of troops, for the course of European warfare had enabled her to withdraw a large body of her soldiers. About 4000 of Wellington's veterans were despatched to Quebec, although the season was somewhat advanced before they all reached their destination.

In course of the campaign of 1814, the Military authorities followed out their former defensive plans on the frontiers. They also planned expeditions against Oswego, on Lake Ontario, and Plattsburg, on Lake Champlain.

The militia, as heretofore, in both Provinces, responded to the call of duty with alacrity.

366. The first attempts of the Americans were made by General Wilkinson in the month of March. He crossed the Canadian frontier with 5000 men and took possession of the village of Phillipsburg. Thence he moved to the attack of a small British force stationed at *La Colle Mill*, a few miles distant from Rouse's Point, and commanded by Major Hancock. The latter had only about 500 men, of whom about 300 were Canadian militia and Voltigeurs.

Wilkinson's attack on this post and its termination remind us of Abercromby's attempt to take Montcalm's position at Carillon, in 1758. He persevered, for four hours, in repeated assaults upon Hancock's position. Hancock had only two guns while the Americans brought three field pieces to aid them in the assault. The distant fire of two or three gun boats on the river Richelieu rendered some slight assistance in checking the Americans on one side. The position of the British was by no means a strong one, but the two cannon and the Canadian marksmen did great execution. Whenever the Americans advanced, as if to storm the lines, the two guns and the musquetry drove them back for shelter into the neighbouring forest. They never once came to close quarters, and, in this respect, Wilkinson's repulse was far more disgraceful than that of Abercromby, alluded to above.

The Americans at last retired, completely baffled. This affair, which resulted in the retreat of Wilkinson to Plattsburg, put an end to the demonstration against the Montreal frontier.

367. Some operations took place in May, on Lake Ontario, where the British now had secured a naval superiority. Commodore Yeo and General Drummond, with a fleet, and 1000 troops, crossed to Oswego. After a slight action, the stores, barracks, bridges and fort were destroyed; a quantity of ammunition, provisions, and several lake craft, were brought away. Commodore Yeo then made for Sackett's Harbour, and sent in a party to take possession of a number of boats laden with military and naval stores.

But, in this case, the assailants were unsuccessful, the whole of them, to the number of 200 being killed, wounded or taken prisoners.

x 1368. In the months of July and August, the Americans commenced active operations in the West.

At Michillimakinac they completely failed, for 900 men sent from Detroit to effect its capture were repulsed, and the two armed vessels, which had accompanied the expedition, were boarded and taken by the garrison.

On the Niagara frontier some very severe fighting occurred, especially on the river Chippewa, which enters the river Niagara above the great Falls, and at a place called Lundy's Lane, situated between forts George and Erie, on the highest ground of Queenston hill.

The Americans having crossed the Niagara from Buffalo and Black Rock, took fort Erie without resistance from its garrison. The sudden surrender of this place allowed the enemy to advance without giving time to the British forces to assemble and repel the invasion. The English Commander, with all he could collect, attacked an American corps of 2000 men, at 3 o'clock on the afternoon of July 5th. The object was to prevent the Americans from moving upon forts George and Niagara. *

After a desperate conflict, the English Commander, General Riall, overpowered by superior numbers, was forced to retreat. He had lost 500 officers and men, killed, and wounded.

Being afterwards reinforced, General Riall, on July 25th engaged in an other conflict, at Lundy's Lane, not far from the falls of Niagara. While the battle was raging, towards evening, Sir Gordon Drummond arrived, just in time to prevent Riall from being overpowered again.

The British now numbered 1800 bayonets, assisted by

* Possessing Forts George and Niagara on opposite sides of the River Niagara, a little above the ruined town of Newark, and also holding Fort Mississauga, just below Newark, the British had control of the entrance from Lake Ontario into the river. It was therefore important for the Americans to retake those places, from which they had been driven in December previous.

five guns. The battle continued four hours, with great loss on both sides, the Americans being still far more numerous than the British.

At the end of that time, the seasonable arrival of additional reinforcements raised the numbers of the British to 3000 men, with seven guns.

The conflict was prolonged until midnight. The Upper Canada militia and regulars vied with each other in proofs of steadiness, discipline, and valour, which enabled the British host, at length, to repel the fierce attacks of the enemy. These attacks were renewed from time to time, the desperate charges being followed by intervals of silence, in which the groans of the wounded and dying were heard, strangely mingled with the dull sound of the neighbouring great waterfall. General Brown and Brigadier General Scott commanded the Americans, who were 5000 in number, supported by artillery. Finding their losses excessive, and increasing fast at every charge, and that their men were wavering, the American General considered success hopeless. A retreat was ordered, which soon became precipitate. Next morning, abandoning their camp, and throwing their baggage and provisions into the rapids, they continued to retreat in disorder until Fort Erie was reached.

Such was the battle of Lundy's Lane, which has been pronounced the hardest fought action of the whole war. The British lost 878 officers and men, the Americans 854. * Among the wounded were Generals Brown and Scott. Sir Gordon Drummond was soon afterwards reinforced by two more British regiments. He blockaded fort Erie until September 21st, when the British troops raised the blockade and returned to their former position on the Chippewa.

* In American accounts, the battle of Lundy's Lane has been sometimes claimed as a victory. But it was not such to the Americans, as is proved by their precipitate retreat, and the abandonment of their heavy baggage and stores, not to speak of the giving up of their proposed advance on to Lake Ontario to take part in the expedition against Kingston.

The Americans remained in fort Erie until November 5th, and then retired across the river Niagara.

Thus was Upper Canada once more liberated from the presence of invaders, for, owing to the failure on the Niagara frontier, the expedition proposed to be undertaken against Kingston was not entered upon.

369. The British offensive movement against Plattsburg was a disastrous failure. It was commanded by Governor Sir George Prevost in person. He had 11000 troops and artillery. When he arrived near enough to commence operations, on September 7th, he deemed it expedient to wait until the British vessels from Ile-aux-noix should come up and attack the American Squadron, then anchored off Plattsburg. After four day's delay the British fleet appeared and immediately attacked the American ships. It happened that the American squadron was more powerfully manned and armed than the English. This circumstance together with mismanagement, and the failure of the land forces to render aid at the right time, enabled the Americans to effect the capture of the principal British vessels. Nine gunboats, commanded by a *Lieutenant Rayot*, fled.

Seeing the fleet completely defeated, Sir George Prevost deemed it inexpedient to capture the works on shore. They were not in a position to repel the assault of the large and well appointed force of the British. But the commander-in-chief thought that after the loss of the squadron, their capture would not be attended with any permanent advantage. Sir George Prevost therefore ordered a retreat. The army, composed chiefly of troops noted for their bravery, and discipline, as well as for long service under the Duke of Wellington, were extremely indignant at having to retire before an enemy, who, though boastful, were inferior to them in reputation and warlike qualities.

This expedition against Plattsburg cost the British 330 men, and a prodigious quantity of stores, left behind, because spoiled by long continued rains. *

* Sir George Prevost entirely lost his character as a soldier owing to the results of the Plattsburg expedition. Charges were

†370. At length the war between England and the United States came to an end. The Americans had been for some time, generally disgusted, on account both of their failure to take Canada, and the inconvenience of having their coast blockaded and their commerce destroyed. *

The Provinces, which had borne the brunt of the contest, were, as a matter of course, deeply interested in the restoration of peace. But, throughout, a general unanimity and loyalty had been displayed by the people. There may have been, here and there, a few seditious and discontented persons, and some few desertions may have occurred among the regular troops. But fidelity, and a resolute spirit to defend their country from invasion, prevailed among the inhabitants at large.

Not a single instance of desertion from the Canadian militia occurred during the war. In short, the conduct of the people of Upper and Lower Canada, during the whole eventful struggle, was such as to call for the warmest praise of the authorities in Canada and in England. To succeeding generations of descendants, who might, like them, have to take up arms and make sacrifices in defence of their country, it afforded one of the noblest examples for imitation that can be found in all history.

The peace between England and the United States was signed at Ghent on December 24th, 1814. †

afterwards preferred against him which would have been investigated by a court martial, if Sir George had not died before the trial could take place.

* In this book those operations only are related which especially affected Canada, or in which the Canadians took part. But it must be borne in mind that the British were at the same time waging an active warfare against the Americans, on the ocean, and along their coasts.

† Amongst many other incidents connected with the war, the following are worthy of notice.

The Americans, for the operations of the first year (1812) raised and equipped 175,000 men. A large number of savages fought on the side of the Canadians. At one time, with General Proctor, there were 3500 savages, under Tecumseh. These were defeated by General Harrison and the chief slain. In the course of 1813,

Orléans January.

CHAPTER FOURTH.

HISTORY OF THE PERIOD FROM 1814 TO 1841—THE GOVERNORS OF UPPER AND LOWER CANADA—DISSENSIONS IN THE LEGISLATURE OF LOWER CANADA—POLITICAL STRIFE IN UPPER CANADA—THE "FAMILY COMPACT"—SIR JOHN COLBORNE—LOUIS PAPINEAU—SIR FRANCIS HEAD—APPROACH OF CIVIL WAR. (A. D. 1815-1837.)

371. As has been already stated, the narrative of the war which forms the subject of the preceding chapter affords lessons valuable both to Americans and Canadians. The former can see, that, although hostilities were begun by them in a confident and boastful spirit, they were by no means irresistible. The latter, aided by the might of England, found themselves able, in three successive campaigns, to repel the utmost efforts of their would be conquerors. Beyond all praise were the courageous exertions, the fortitude, and the heroism, both of Upper and Lower Canadians, in defending their hearths and their altars. In short, succeeding generations, occupying the respective territories of the United States and British North America, have only to recal the memorable campaigns of 1812, 1813 and 1814 whenever future aggressions shall be meditated.

Equally instructive, in another point of view, is the

the savages often behaved very cruelly in spite of all endeavours of the British officers.

One of the British vessels on Lake Ontario carried 100 guns.

Of the troops which came out from Britain in 1814, 4000 were veteran soldiers who had served 8 years under Wellington.

In 1814, the American forces employed against Canada would have been much more numerous but for the necessity they were under of protecting their own sea ports against the attacks of the English. The latter took the capital, Washington, and burnt the public buildings. Other places were injured. This assisted in causing the American troops to withdraw from Canada. The English commerce suffered, but the American more. The Americans lost 3000 vessels.

Imports into the States as well as exports were greatly reduced, in fact almost reduced to nothing. The Americans were extremely glad to make peace.

history of the period from 1814 to 1841. It, also, will be found to afford lessons, which the present and future generations of Canadians ought never to ignore.

The American war being ended, the people of the Provinces turned their attention to their internal affairs. The period of 27 years, which followed the close of the war, was one of almost constant agitation and turmoil in regard to internal matters. Former dissensions were renewed. New causes of strife grew up, or were purposely introduced, until at length discord led to rebellion, producing, for the time, a far worse state of things than the previous warfare with external enemies.

But, happily, in this book, it is not requisite to recount all the details of that political strife. The causes can be briefly stated, and the nature of the results can be easily understood by setting forth plainly a few principal facts.

It will be seen, however, that, notwithstanding the hindrances alluded to, the Provinces, within the above named period, made great strides in general progress and improvement.

372. Between 1814 and 1841, *six* successive Lieutenant-Governors in Upper Canada, and *fourteen* Governors and Administrators in Lower Canada, conducted the public affairs.*

These officials, men of distinction and ability, discharged their duties under instructions from the government in England. England was always desirous of promoting the real welfare of Canada. But the statesmen there, so far off

* UPPER CANADA.—Hon. Francis Gore, 1815. Hon. Sam. Smith, Adm., 1817 and 1820. Sir Perigrine Maitland, 1818 and 1820. Sir J. Colborne, (Lord Seaton), 1828. Sir Francis B. Head, 1836. Sir George Arthur, 1838.

LOWER CANADA.—Sir G. Drummond, Administ., 1815. General John Wilson, Administ., 1816. Sir J. Coape Sherbrooke, 1816. Duke of Richmond, 1818. Sir James Monk, President, 1819. Sir Peregrine Maitland, 1820. Earl of Dalhousie, 1820 and 1825. Sir F. N. Burton, Lieut. Gov., 1824, Sir James Kempt, Administrator, 1828. Lord Aylmer, Administrator, 1830. Earl of Gosford, 1835. Sir J. Colborne, (Lord Seaton), 1838. Earl of Durham, 1838. C. Poulett Thompson, (Lord Sydenham), 1839.

from the colonies, and much taken up with European affairs, were not always equally fortunate, either in the selection of those whom they sent out to govern, or in discerning what measures were best for the Provinces.

××373. We shall state briefly in this place the sources of agitation and discord in the Provinces.

In Lower Canada, the ancient jealousies of *race* were always shewing themselves. The governor and his executive council with the Legislative Council, formed a body consisting almost wholly of those of British origin. As was to be expected, all, or nearly all, the offices of trust, continued, as heretofore, to be withheld from those of French descent. The few offices conferred upon Frenchmen were considered merely as instances of a disposition to make some slight concessions in favour of the great majority of the population. It was contended that the enjoyment of their own religion, customs, laws, and language, were, as much as possible, secured to the majority; and that the laws of the empire had been strained to effect this. But the principal men belonging to the majority of Lower Canada asserted, on the other hand, that the acknowledgment of their rights consisted in mere words and theory, while in reality, and in practice, they were violated.

It happened, therefore, that, although, at first, the people of Lower Canada had elected, amongst the members of the Assembly, quite a number of persons of British descent, they soon ceased to do that. The House of Assembly came to consist almost wholly of representatives of French origin. The Executive and Legislative Councils, on the other hand were almost entirely British, or English speaking and Protestant.

Here, then is to be seen one standing cause of discord. For, the young reader must remember, that no law could be made without an agreement of all the branches of the Legislature—the Assembly, the Legislative Council and the Governor, the last named official being influenced by the advice of his Executive Council.

Accordingly, it often happened that bills passed by the

Assembly were rejected by the Legislative Council. Sometimes, also, those which had been passed by both Houses were not agreed to by the Governor. Moreover the dissension among their legislators and rulers promoted party spirit among the people at large.

X X 374. The cause of trouble in Lower Canada which has been mentioned embittered, and added force to, disputes which grew up on occasions of difference about various matters, not, of themselves, necessarily connected with questions of race and religion.

For many years the Assembly and the other branches of the Legislature differed respecting the finances of the Province. Like the House of Commons in England, the House of Assembly claimed control over the expenditure of the revenues. It was the custom for the *supplies* for meeting the expenses to be first discussed and voted by the Assembly. While the revenue was insufficient the Imperial government furnished the funds required. But, as soon as the income of the Province was thought able to bear it, the members of the Assembly proposed to take the entire control of the finances. The governor and Legislative Council resisted that pretension, so that, year by year, there were renewed disputes on the subject.

Sir John Sherbrooke had ended his governorship and the Duke of Richmond had succeeded him in 1818, when the former offer of the Assembly to provide for "*the civil list*" * was accepted, and the House requested to make provision accordingly. In proceeding to do this, instead of voting a fixed sum to the amount sought, the Assembly deliberated upon the items of the list, one by one. Some were omitted, in order that certain offices, for which no salary was voted, should be discontinued. At this the Legislative Council, when the money bill came before it, took offence. The bill was rejected, and the end was that the Legislative session was closed without any provision

* In this were included the salaries and expenses connected with the carrying on of the government.

being made for the expenses of the government. * The governor expressed to the House, in his speech at the prorogation, his displeasure, after the fashion of Sir James Craig. This greatly offended the representatives. The governor dying in 1819, the quarrel continued under the government of the succeeding administrators, Sir James Monk and Sir Peregrine Maitland, when Earl Dalhousie came into office.

375. Even then, in 1820, and some time before, in order to put an end to the vexatious condition of public affairs, a decisive change was proposed or talked of—the *union of the two Provinces*. As the population of Upper Canada was increasing much faster than that of the Lower Province, and as it was then about 120,000, the promoters of that project imagined that such an union would soon place the English-speaking people and Protestants in the majority. This design was very distasteful in Lower Canada to the majority of the inhabitants, who vigorously opposed and petitioned against it. Although a bill was, in 1822, brought forward in the English House of Commons for effecting the change, yet it was eventually withdrawn, and the proposed union deferred to a later period.

376. Under the influence of such drawbacks as have been referred to, † there were hostile feelings relative to race and

* This proceeding, called *stopping the supplies*, that is, not voting the money required for expenses, was, in subsequent years, often followed by the Assembly. The object of it was so to inconvenience the government that the wishes of the Assembly should be complied with.

† One of the subjects of dispute in the Legislature was the case of the judges. Long before the American war, the House of Assembly had objected to these functionaries holding official positions in the Legislature, and had even proposed to expel one. Judges could be members of the Executive Council and of the Legislative Council also. Subsequently the conduct of certain judges was declared to be wholly inconsistent with their position as administrators of the law. They were even accused of sitting in judgement upon cases in which they themselves were interested.

Mr. Justice Foucher and Mr. Justice Monck were *impeached* by

religion, and constant displays of want of confidence in their rulers by the inhabitants of Lower Canada. The state of public affairs passed from bad to worse every year. Four more successive governors and administrators, Sir Francis Burton, Sir James Kempt, Lord Aylmer and Earl Gosford, presided over an agitated, wrangling people, until the troubles ended in a civil war. The events which more immediately preceded this, and the circumstances which attended the restoration of public order must be related. But it is necessary first to notice the course of affairs in Upper Canada.

✱ 377. Although somewhat differently composed, the people of Upper Canada, like those of the Lower Province, were also involved in political strife. Soon after the war, volunteers and militiamen, who had fought against the common enemy, began to complain that the government did not assign them lands for their services, as had been promised. Then, there were many half-pay officers, and poor gentlemen, who sought no other means of living than hunting after government offices, and who obtained employment without regard to their fitness. Such persons associated themselves together to favour and support those who governed the country, under all circumstances. In course of time, those who ruled or held offices became a distinct and powerful party, favouring none that did not belong to their circle. By these, new-comers, and especially emigrants from the States, were looked down upon as being of an inferior class, and not eligible for offices of trust and profit. The whole body of persons of whom we now speak were nicknamed "*The Family Compact.*"

the House, in 1817, on accusations, which, if true, would have rendered them wholly unfit for their high offices.

The governor would not suspend them when the House requested him to do so, nor would the Legislative Council join in action against them. The House then petitioned the Prince Regent. The latter instructed the governor to announce his decision in favour of the impeached judges. All this business connected with the judges was very unpleasant, and occasioned great discontent and controversy.

Next, there were complaints about the management of the affairs of the Post Office Department, and also about that of the public lands. The constitution of 1791 embraced provisions for the support of the Protestant religion, both in Upper and Lower Canada. To carry out this intention, *one-seventh* of the quantity of lands granted already, or to be granted in future, was *reserved*. The lands so held back were styled the *Clergy Reserves*, and became a fruitful source of contention in Upper Canada. *

In 1817, a sudden prorogation of the House of Assembly by the governor surprised and displeased both the members and those whom they represented.

A factious person, named *Gourlay*, made his appearance in the Province about this time, and by his writings, and the agitation he set on foot against the "*Family Compact*," occasioned the authorities much trouble. This person being prosecuted and imprisoned, the opponents of the governing body became more excited in their hostility. Governor Gore, and his successor, Sir P. Maitland, were both greatly annoyed by Gourlay's pretensions and influence on the minds of the people; for he induced them to petition the Imperial Parliament, and also to form a society, or convention, which held meetings at Toronto, for the consideration of abuses in the Provincial government.

After Gourlay had removed ‡ from the Province the agitation against the "*Family Compact*" subsided, but was again revived. Although, for several years, affairs seemed to be managed more quietly, yet, towards 1827,

* At first, it was assumed that the clergy reserves were exclusively for the support of the church of England. Members of other Protestant bodies set up claims for their respective churches. Thus the Protestants of the church of England, and the other Protestants were led into disputes with each other.

The other lands reserved were called *Crown reserves*.

The Assembly of Upper Canada thought *one-seventh* too great a proportion for clergy reserves, and also objected to the system, which was pursued, of leasing Crown lands instead of selling them.

‡ He was expelled from the Province. In 1826 he was in confinement in England for an assault on Lord Brougham.

dissension and party spirit had risen to a great height. The elections were keenly contested, and a majority of persons hostile to the government were chosen representatives. The disputes about the clergy reserves became more bitter than before. The newspapers often published very abusive articles, and the government prosecuted the writers. As in Lower Canada, the administration of justice was a subject of complaint and the House of Assembly sought to exclude the judges from being connected with the Legislature in any way. William Lyon McKenzie, who afterwards became notorious, took, at this time, an active part in exciting agitation against the government. In a single session no fewer than 21 bills, passed by the Assembly were rejected by the Legislative Council. The speaker, Mr. Bidwell, was an opponent to the government, and W. L. McKenzie, who was a member of the Assembly, did all he could to promote discord in the Legislature. Sir John Colborne, a straightforward and blunt old soldier, was then Governor. He had refused to grant a petition of the House of Assembly relative to the case of a person imprisoned for libel. The House then addressed their prayer to king George the Fourth, who at once complied with the request, to the gratification of the opponents of government but the annoyance of the members of the "*family compact*."

In the session of 1830, *forty* Bills from the Assembly were thrown out by the other House. Next year, McKenzie attacked the Assembly in a newspaper published by him, and was expelled the House. His constituents elected him again, and again he was expelled, and declared not eligible as a member. Being elected a third time, * McKenzie became the most notorious person in the Province. Public meetings were every where held, and the excitement was very great. 24,000 persons signed a petition to king William IV, praying that the Governor might be recalled, and that the people might be allowed to

* McKenzie was five times expelled the House of Assembly, and each time was re-elected for the county of York.

elect the members of the Legislative Council. In the same petition it was stated that the existing parliament ought to be dissolved, as it did not represent the real sentiments of the people. From the account here given it will be seen, that the affairs of Upper Canada had fallen into a condition scarcely less unsatisfactory than those of the Lower Province.

378. Sir John Colborne was relieved from the government of Upper Canada in 1836, and was succeeded by Sir Francis Bond Head. *

About this time, McKenzie, relying on his popularity, was engaged in plotting a revolution. He conceived the design of setting up a *republic*, like that of the United States, in place of the existing government. Many others were led to favour his schemes, although comparatively few were willing to go the length of taking up arms and committing themselves to the shedding of blood.

At this same time, in Lower Canada, sedition and rebellion were on the eve of plunging the country into a civil war, on which account the commander of the forces † removed the troops from Toronto to Kingston. Here they would be nearer to the scene of action in case their services should be required. This circumstance favoured the designs of McKenzie and his friends.

But we must now turn again to the affairs of Lower Canada in order to explain what happened before, or more immediately led to, the sad outbreak of 1837.

379. A member of the Assembly of Lower Canada, Louis Papineau, was one of the greatest opponents of the govern-

* Fifty-seven Rectories of the Church of England were provided for out of the Clergy Reserves just before Sir John Colborne's recall. This had been unexpected, and heightened the strife and party spirit already existing.

† Sir John Colborne, while on his way home from Upper Canada, was met by orders from England to return to the Lower Province and assume the Command of the forces.

The governor of Upper Canada, Sir F. B. Head, so little expected to require the aid of soldiers that he would not retain even two companies at Toronto offered to him by Sir John.

ing authorities. He loudly denounced Lord Dalhousie as unworthy of confidence. During four years before 1827, the House had voted no supplies, and the excitement in the country, as well as the bitterness of the debates in the Legislature, became intense. The violent party, and majority in the Assembly, were led by Papineau. In 1827, he was chosen speaker, but Lord Dalhousie refused to sanction the election. This led to more determined opposition, and then the Governor prorogued the Legislature. Next year, 87,000 persons petitioned the king. * To carry on the government, the authorities had procured large advances from the military chest, and had thus become enabled to pay officials without depending on the votes of the members of the Assembly. Matters grew worse and worse. Associations called *Conventions*, and *Constitutional Committees*, were formed in Quebec and Montreal. These bodies in strong language denounced the Governor, and the Executive and Legislative Councils. They also insisted that the people should elect the members of the Legislative Council and that the British government should cease to interfere in the Local affairs of the Province. The result of the great petition of 87,000 persons, was, for a time, satisfactory. A new governor was sent out, Sir J. Kempt, who deviated considerably from the course of his predecessor. Papineau was recognized as speaker of the House, and the arrangements relating to the militia and the magistrates made more acceptable. About this time also the Province was more conveniently divided into representative districts, and the number of members of the House raised to 84, including 8 for the Eastern Townships. †

* This petition, when taken to England by three *delegates*, Messrs Nelson, Viger and Cuvillier, was referred to a committee of the House of Commons.

† The Lower Canada Legislative Council at this time had 23 members, of whom 16 were Protestants. Only 8 of the members were natives of the Province. *Twelve* of the whole number were office bearers under the government.

The Executive Council consisted of 9, of whom 8 were Protes-

But the ancient jealousies soon shewed themselves again with increased violence, and discord became more rife than before. The newspapers, particularly those whose conductors were hostile to the government, were violent in the abuse they furnished to their readers. By these, the prejudices and passions of the people were constantly fomented. Grievances, discontent, and petitions for redress, multiplied throughout the Province. Throughout 1832, 1833, and 1834, the discord and excitement were sustained without intermission, until, at length, the state of the Province became alarming.

In the last mentioned year, the House of Assembly, during its session, spent much time in discussing the condition of public affairs. The result was the framing of a lengthy document, intended to contain the statement of all grievances under which the country laboured, and of demands relative to necessary changes in the mode of conducting the government. These were set forth in a formal manner, under 92 heads, and have been since known as "The Ninety-two Resolutions." * The passing of these

tants. Only two of the whole were natives of Canada and only one not an office bearer.

Such being the composition of the two Councils, it is easy to see that the people at large could be persuaded by their leaders that their religion, laws, and language would not be fairly dealt by.

Of the 17 members of the Legislative Council of Upper Canada, at least 10 were persons either holding public offices, or members of the Executive Council.

The salaries of officials were then not so great as afterwards, as we can see by the following statement: Governor, £4,500; Governor's Secretary, £500; Provincial Secretary, £400; Attorney General, £300; Solicitor General, £200. There was then no Finance Minister or Treasurer, but a *Receiver General*, whose remuneration seems to have been derived from a *per-centage* upon the monies he had in his care, and to whose custody all revenues were made over.

The population of Upper Canada was then (1830-1834) nearly 300,000, and of the Lower Province about 500,000.

* *Note on the 92 Resolutions.*—These were drawn up by a Committee of the House of Assembly and were intended to set forth in

resolutions, by the Assembly, did not prevent the drawing up, by different bodies, of a multitude of other statements, petitions, addresses, and resolutions, all shewing that nothing short of the strong arm of authority, by the intervention of the mother country, could save the Province from anarchy.

380. Such was the state of things in the Lower Pro-

a solemn manner the sentiments of the majority of that body. They specified various matters of grievance, such as abuse of the power of the Crown by its officers in the colony, the composition of the Executive and Legislative Councils, the distribution of public offices of trust and emolument chiefly amongst persons of British origin and those not natives of the country, to the exclusion of those of French descent, together with many other particulars. It was stated, in the 75th Resolution, that in the population of about 600,000, there were 75,000 of British descent, while of upwards of 200 salaried officers employed in the public service less than 50 were French and natives of the Colony. When brought before the House of Assembly, Louis Papineau supported the resolutions in a speech which breathed throughout a republican spirit. The House adopted them, the vote in their favour being 56 against 24. Addresses founded upon them, were prepared for transmission to the King and to the English Houses of Lords and Commons.

The Governor, Lord Aylmer, when he dissolved the parliament on March 18th, 1834, said of the 92 Resolutions : " I cannot refrain
" from making some remarks on the language of the 92 Resolu-
" tions on which is founded your appeal to the Imperial Parlia-
" ment. It manifests so great a departure from the well known
" moderation and urbanity of the Canadian character that those
" who are ignorant of the real state of the Province would find it
" difficult to avoid attributing such language to extraordinary and
" general disturbance in the minds of the people. Therefore I avail
" myself of this opportunity to announce distinctly—and I desire
" to call your particular attention to the fact—that, whatever
" may have been the prevailing sentiments within the circle of
" the Assembly when the 92 resolutions were adopted, the whole
" people, outside of that circle, were at that very time in the
" enjoyment of the most profound tranquillity ; and I rely on its
" good sense with too much confidence to imagine the people will
" permit its tranquillity to be disturbed by the manœuvres which
" have been practised to this end."

Many members of the Assembly declared that the governor's assertions were illusive.

The mover of the 92 Resolutions in the Assembly was M. Bédard.

vince, when Lord Gosford, as Governor-in-Chief, and two other gentlemen, were sent out from England, as a Commission, to examine into and to report upon its affairs.

It would be tedious to relate the details of the proceedings of the Commission, or of the offers, and other measures by which Earl Gosford endeavoured to conciliate those who opposed the governing authorities. The Commission reported at great length. The Commissioners, Sir Charles Grey and Sir George Gipps, returned to England, Earl Gosford remaining behind at his post.

In the English House of Commons, the report of the Commissioners and the state of Canada were discussed. Resolutions were passed which virtually *suspended* the Canadian constitution of 1791.

When the news reached Canada, in the middle of April 1837, the opponents of the government determined to observe no longer their duties as loyal subjects. Under the leadership of Papineau and Dr. Wolfred Nelson, *indignation* meetings were held, Great Britain denounced, and measures openly proposed for establishing a republic by force.

The agitators, or, as they now began to style themselves, *patriots*, created a sort of frenzy by the speeches they made. Soon, outrages were committed, and the Province was plunged into civil warfare.

CHAPTER FIFTH.

REBELLION IN UPPER AND LOWER CANADA.—EARL DURHAM.—
LORD SYDENHAM — UNION OF THE PROVINCES. (1837-1841.)

381. King William IV died, and his niece, the Princess Victoria, ascended the throne of Great Britain and Ireland, while misguided people in Canada were in the act of rushing into an armed resistance to lawful authority.

According to custom, the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church, in all the parish churches of the Province, celebrated the accession of the young Queen, for there

was no manifestation of disloyalty on their part. But the disloyal and seditious of their congregations turned to account the opportunity, thus presented, of shewing their sentiments. Many rose from their seats and retired, refusing to sanction, by their presence, the chaunting of the *Te Deum* in honor of the new sovereign, or the offering up of prayers for the Queen and Royal family.

This ostentatious and decisive mark of the evil influence which the agitators had contrived to obtain over the minds of the inhabitants, was followed by the adoption of treasonable resolutions, on October 23rd, when a great meeting was held at St. Charles, on the river Richelieu,* At this meeting speakers affected to pity, "*the unhappy lot of the soldiers*" and plainly recommended desertion.† There were at this time, in Canada, about 3300 troops. Disturbances and outrages occurred in the Montreal district, several of the British inhabitants being forced to flee for refuge to the city, with their families.

A body of young men styling themselves "*the sons of liberty*," began parading the streets of Montreal, and a conflict occurred between them and a number of loyal citizens calling themselves "*constitutionalists*."

This was the first occasion of open violence between the opposite parties. Houses were attacked and persons ill treated and wounded. It occurred on November 5th, between which time and the 10th, bodies of armed men began to show themselves in various parts. After the last named date, the authorities in Montreal and Quebec issued proclamations in behalf of order, and at length, on the 16th, the Governor, by warrants, directed the arrest

* This was called the "Meeting of Five Counties." It was attended by more than 5000 persons although the state of the roads was very bad. There were also present *thirteen* members of the Assembly and one of the Legislative Council, and almost every person of any note or standing from the surrounding parishes. It was presided over by Dr. Wolfred Nelson.

† This had no effect: not a soldier deserted during the continuance of the troubles of 1837 and 1838.

of all the active leaders. Sixty-one magistrates in the Montreal district were displaced, and a number of leading "*patriots*" were taken up and thrown into prison. Papi-neau, however, and others made their escape.

The loyal citizens of Montreal and Quebec made formal offers of their services, as volunteers, to the Governor, which were accepted, and officers were appointed to command the several corps.

+ 382. In the meantime, the "*patriots*" collected in masses on the banks of the Richelieu, especially at St. Denis and, higher up the river, at St. Charles. One body of 700 or 800 assembled at the latter place, under the command of a person named Brown. Another, at St. Denis, occupied a large stone building and threw up some outworks, commanded by Dr. Wolfred Nelson. A third held a strong position at St. Ours, in the county of St. Hyacinthe. It was judged necessary to disperse these bodies and apprehend their leaders.

Accordingly four companies of soldiers, and a few volunteers of Montreal, under colonel Wetherall, were directed to move down the river bank from Chambly upon St. Charles. Colonel Gore with another detachment, consisting, in part, of volunteer cavalry, was ordered to pass up from Sorel, and attack those at St. Denis.

The weather and roads were very unfavourable, so that the troops belonging to both corps had much difficulty, and occupied a long time in reaching their destinations. Colonel Gore, arriving at St. Denis on the morning of November 23rd, soon found that his division alone was not strong enough to carry the position of the insurgents at St. Denis. He had been able to bring on but one small field-piece, which did little or no execution. Although he persevered in his attack for six hours, he was completely baffled in all his attempts. Finally, the inhabitants collecting, at the scene of the action from the surrounding country, fearing lest his communications should be cut off, he retired towards Sorel, leaving several wounded men behind, as well as his field-piece.

The loss of the insurgents in this affair was about 15 killed. Colonel Gore lost six men killed and ten wounded.*

The success with which the troops had been encountered by armed inhabitants at St. Denis, following on a previous rescue of some prisoners on their way from St. Johns to Montreal, greatly elated the *patriots*. It was quickly communicated to all parts of the country and created an immense sensation.

Colonel Wetherall, leaving Chambly at the same time that Colonel Gore started from Sorel, marched down the right bank of the Richelieu upon St. Charles. Arriving within a mile of the place, some shots were fired at the troops. With praiseworthy consideration for the infuriated insurgents, he, nevertheless, sent forward a message to them, intimating that if they would disperse before he reached the place no further notice should be taken of their conduct. But, when he came within musket-shot of some works which had been thrown up, his troops were received with a heavy fire. About an hour was spent in skirmishing and making preparations for the assault. The soldiers then stormed and carried the works. They lost 21 men in killed and wounded. The slaughter was great on the side of the *patriots*, of whom upwards of 150 were slain and about twice as many wounded. The misguided insurgents are said to have fought with a spirit "worthy of better leaders and of a better cause." Their commander, a person named Brown, left his unfortunate dupes to shift for themselves, and at the first discharge of firearms, fled for Vermont.

The issue of the business at St. Charles being soon

* An unhappy incident happened at St. Denis about the beginning of the action. A Captain Weir had been intercepted by Nelson's people on his way from Colonel Gore's detachment, with dispatches for Col. Wetherall. He was taken to Dr. Nelson, who, when the firing began, directed him to be conveyed from St. Denis to St. Charles. Before he was removed from the village, poor Weir, though bound hand and foot, was barbarously murdered.

known at St. Denis, Dr. Nelson's followers lost heart and began to desert. Presently, he himself, with a few friends, left the place, intending to retire for refuge into the United States. *

St. Denis was afterwards the scene of some excesses. Colonel Gore's detachment returned to the village and the soldiers, enraged by their repulse and the information received of the treatment of Capt. Weir, ruthlessly destroyed buildings and other property.

Considerable numbers of the insurgents dispersed in parties, making for St. Ours, St. Hyacinth, the Eastern Townships, and the borders of the United States, where many took refuge.

Colonel Gore passed across to St. Hyacinth, and there put an end to any further display of armed opposition, south of the St. Lawrence. †

383. Martial law was † proclaimed in the district of Montreal and rewards offered for the apprehension of Papineau; Dr. Nelson, a number of members of the Assembly who had been leaders of the insurrection, and

* Dr. Nelson did not succeed in reaching the border. He was captured in Stukely, on December 12th, in company with one Canadian and an Indian guide, almost exhausted through hunger, cold, and fatigue. He was taken to Montreal and thrown into prison. Papineau had been at St. Denis before the troops of Gore attacked that place, but removed thence to Yamaska. After the affair of St. Charles he fled from Yamaska into the United States.

† In the neighbourhood of Missisquoi Bay, not far from Philipsburg, an engagement took place between loyalist militia, under Capt. Kemp, and a body of insurgents, under a person named Gagnon, belonging to l'Acadie. The insurgents had formed their plans at a place called Swanton, just within the borders of Vermont in the United States, whence they marched into Canadian territory. They were easily dispersed on December 6th, leaving behind, in their flight back to Swanton, two field pieces, some ammunition, and a few prisoners.

The people of the Townships generally were on the alert, intercepting the flight of insurgents towards the States and capturing prisoners.

other persons of less note. Rewards were also offered for the capture of the murderers of Capt. Weir. *

By the end of the first week of December there was no further display of armed resistance in the quarters where the rebellion first broke out.

But there still remained to be dealt with large bodies of insurgents, and openly disaffected persons, in the parishes North and West of Montreal, particularly at St. Eustache, St. Benoit, and St. Scholastique. In these parts the loyal inhabitants were ill-treated, and many obliged, with their families, to flee to the city for refuge.

384. While these things were happening we must not suppose that the loyal people of the Province were idle, or that the inhabitants of the neighbouring British Provinces were indifferent spectators.

Addresses and offers of assistance poured in from the militia of Upper Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick. Volunteers, by thousands, proposed to march from those colonies upon the insurgents in Canada. The Highlanders of Glengarry were actually setting out for the scenes of action, when word from Sir John Colborne was brought, intimating that their services were not needed.

The loyal inhabitants of Quebec and Montreal prepared the most patriotic addresses, filled up the ranks of the volunteer infantry, cavalry, and artillery, or enrolled themselves for garrison duty.

In short such was the manifestation of spirit in various quarters, that the rebellion, if persisted in a fortnight longer, would have brought from far and near an overwhelming force of the armed friends of order and authority.

* Mr. Jamieson, Governor of the state of Vermont, issued a proclamation on December 13th, calling upon the people to take no part in the internal dissensions of Canada, and warning them that the United States and Great Britain were at peace, and that it was unlawful for the territory of Vermont to be made use of in preparing hostile expeditions against the neighbouring Province.

But in spite of this proclamation many turbulent persons appeared at the frontiers of the State, ready for violence and plunder.

The insurrection never, from the first, had the slightest chance of success. *

Nor were the inhabitants, generally, of the districts of Quebec, and Three Rivers, wanting in manifestations of loyalty, there being only a few places in which *agitation* meetings were held. Bishop *Joseph Signay*, exhorted his clergy and their flocks to be on their guard "*against the disorganizing doctrines circulated by misguided persons concerned in resistance to the established authority.*"

385. But the "*Patriots*," north and west of Montreal, were, as yet, kept in ignorance of the failure of their cause on the Richelieu, and on December 13th, Sir John Colborn at the head of about 2000 men, left the city for St. Eustache. There, the insurgents, to the number of 1000 in arms, soon found themselves hemmed in. They posted themselves in the church, parsonage, and manor house. Some shots were fired on the troops as they advanced to storm the positions, which were carried after a brief resistance. The buildings were set on fire, and some of the insurgents, unable to make their escape, perished miserably in the flames.

About sixty houses, besides the church, and a convent, were consumed in the conflagration. The insurgents lost upwards of 200 in killed and wounded, and more than 100 were taken prisoners. Of the troops, about 10 were killed and wounded.

The commander, a man named *Girod*, like Brown at St. Charles, made off from the scene as soon as the firing commenced. Being pursued, he was on the point of being captured by the police, when he ended his life by his own hand.

* In course of the Autumn, when it became evident that outbreaks would occur, the British troops in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia were kept in readiness for marching. On November 6th, part of the 85th Regiment from Halifax started for Quebec. The 34th and 43rd Regiments from New Brunswick proceeded to the same destination, in divisions, after the affair at St. Denis. These three regiments made a winter march through a country covered with snow, and inhabitants supposed to sympathise with the insurgents. But in all in the parishes from St. André to Quebec they were treated with every mark of kindness and loyalty. They reached Quebec at the close of December.

Proceeding to St. Benoit from St. Eustache, Sir John Colborne was met by flags of truce in token of the submission of the people of the former place. At the same time a detachment, under Col. Maitland, received the submission of the insurgents at St. Scholastique. The leading persons were taken up and sent to prison, while their infatuated followers were dismissed to their homes. Some destruction of property, however, occurred at St. Benoit.

386. Shortly afterwards, Earl Gosford, recalled to England, took his departure, leaving the commander of the forces, Sir John Colborne, to preside as Administrator. This was in January 1838.*

387. In March, a proclamation was issued at Quebec suspending the constitution of 1791.

A Special Council, consisting of 22 members, one half of French and the other half of English origin, was appointed to govern the Province.

In May, when martial law was discontinued, the Earl of Durham arrived at Quebec, in the capacity of Governor General, and Queen's High Commissioner, for adjusting the affairs of the Province.

388. Lord Durham's stay in Canada was short, for he resigned his office and departed in November following his arrival.

He converted his mission, into one of peace. Accordingly he caused the crowded gaols of the Province to be relieved by the liberation of all minor offenders, pardoned on the occasion of Her Majesty's coronation.

The recently created special council, as well as the old Executive Council, were dissolved, and a new Special Council summoned. By the latter, a decree was issued, banishing Dr. Wolfred Nelson, and eight other leaders of

* Martial law was continued until May. About the end of February 600 refugees, under Robert Nelson (a brother of Dr. Nelson) and Dr. Coté, recrossed the borders from the state of New-York, bringing arms and cannon, for the purpose of exciting another revolt. But finding troops and militia ready to oppose them they retired, and were compelled by the authorities of the United States to surrender their arms and ammunition.

the insurrection, then confined in the Montreal gaol. They were sent to Bermuda. At the same time, Papineau was forbidden to return to Canada. The other offenders were released, on giving security for future good behaviour.

The murderers of a person named Chartrand, and one of the murderers of Capt. Weir, were brought to trial, but acquitted, in spite of clear evidence against the accused.

Although the proceedings of Earl Durham were on the side of mercy, many thought them contrary to justice and to the best interests of the Province. The Ministers of State in England approved of them, but the Parliament did not. This body, in fact, censured the Governor General and his Special Council. This was the cause of Earl Durham's early resignation, mentioned above.

In his report as High Commissioner, the Earl gave a long description of state of the Province and suggested remedies which he thought necessary for its future welfare. Among these, the principal was the union of Upper and Lower Canada. When Earl Durham retired, Sir John Colborne became Governor General. *

389. In the meantime, the feelings which had prompted the outbreaks in 1837 were as active as ever. By the time when Lord Durham left the country, another insurrection had been secretly organised. Of this second rising, which was fostered by disaffected persons who had taken refuge in the United States, and who there concerted their plans, the declared object was to establish a republic. Dr. Robert Nelson, mentioned in a former article, was to be the head of the proposed government.

On November 3rd, a body of several hundred insurgents

* The Earl of Durham, while in Canada, kept up a princely style of living. He had nothing ignoble or sordid in his disposition. He ordered all his salary and emoluments as Governor General to be given for the expenses incurred in repairing the Government Houses in Quebec and Montreal.—He gave to the citizens of Quebec, for a public *promenade*, the site of the ancient Castle of St. Louis—also the use of the *Upper and Lower Gardens*, previously reserved for the inmates of the Castle alone, so that these came to be regarded, from that time, as belonging to the corporation of Quebec—The ancient site of St. Louis became "Durham Place."

made an attack upon the crew and passengers of the steamer *Henry Brougham*, at Beauharnois. Armed men assembled on the Richelieu, and proceeded to Napierville, near the border, where Nelson had established his head-quarters.

Several inconsiderable skirmishes occurred, at Caughnawaga, Beauharnois and other places. At Lacolle mill, the scene of former conflict, a quarter of a century before, a considerable body of insurgents and "*American sympathizers*" was attacked by the militia of Odelltown and Hemmingford and driven across the border with the loss of 11 killed and 8 prisoners. This occurred on November 6th. Three days afterwards, Nelson, at Napierville, found his position threatened by the approach of the frontier militia in his rear, and by a strong force of regulars, under Sir John Colborne, in front. Before the Commander-in-Chief came up, the militia alone had disposed of Nelson's force, after a desperate battle in which 60 of the insurgents were killed, and upwards of 100 wounded. The others took to flight and escaped across the border. Nelson fled to Plattsburgh. About the same time small parties of "*patriots*" at Chambly, and other places, were easily overpowered and dispersed.

In this shortlived rising, which lasted only 7 days, a vast amount of injury was done to property. Lives also, in addition to those lost in conflict, were sacrificed. As martial law had been reestablished, the insurgents taken in arms were not, this time, consigned to prison for trials in the courts of law. Former lenity had failed of its intended purpose. Accordingly, courtsmartial were assembled, and, after an impartial trial, thirteen of the insurgents were sentenced to death and executed. A great many were condemned to transportation.

Thus ended the insurrection of 1838—a renewal of that of 1837—resulting in infinite suffering to the misguided insurgents, * the victims of agitators who deserted

* Their fault consisted in taking up arms against their sovereign and the lawfully constituted authorities of the Province. There were really grievances and abuses as all persons now admit; but these did not warrant their recourse to violence and bloodshed.

them in the hour of their utmost peril, and the dupes of American sympathisers.

†† 390. We must now notice the course of events in Upper Canada.

It was stated in art. 338 that McKenzie and others were plotting a revolution, and that the withdrawal of the troops from Toronto favoured his designs. *

The Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Francis Head, having ordered the militia to be in readiness for instant service, McKenzie published a statement designed to incite his followers or partisans to revolt. The Lieut.-Governor then ordered McKenzie's arrest. But, he, placing himself at the head of an armed band of disaffected persons, evaded the attempts to arrest him, and marched boldly against Toronto. McKenzie's immediate purposes were to obtain possession of about 4000 stand of arms, known to be left unprotected in that city, then to seize the Lieutenant-Governor and proclaim a republic.

Sir F. Head, with the ordinary town guards, and a number of citizens, among whom were five judges, assembled and armed themselves, and waited in some anxiety within the city.

McKenzie's force was an indifferently armed body of seven or eight hundred men.

But his movement, so far from engaging the support of the thousands, whose assistance he expected, caused the militia, yeomen, and farmers, to flock into Toronto from all directions, in order to oppose it. It seems that those who had favoured McKenzie's agitation for reform in the government, were, with the exception of a few, quite disinclined to join in schemes of downright revolution and bloodshed.

* Several hundred meetings held by McKenzie and his friends had preceded the rising. But of all the inhabitants of Upper Canada it seems that not a single thousand were ready or willing to take up arms in favour of the cause. There are, however, conflicting accounts. Some of McKenzie's friends asserted that between three and four thousand came forward but went away again when it was found there were no arms for them.

Accordingly, when at length Sir Francis Head saw himself surrounded by a large number of loyalists from the country parts, the revolt was easily put down. McKenzie's band was attacked in the outskirts of Toronto. Upwards of 30 of his followers were killed, and many wounded. The rest took to flight.

McKenzie himself escaped into the United States. The rising, which never had the least chance of success, commenced on December 4th, 1837, and, by the 12th, was completely put down.

391. But for the sympathy shewn in the United States in favour of the proposed revolution in Canada, McKenzie's previous movements would soon have terminated in perfect tranquillity. Many Americans, however, especially on the frontiers and in the lake cities, affected to believe that the risings, both in Upper and Lower Canada, were praiseworthy efforts to gain freedom from oppression.

Accordingly McKenzie, and the multitudes of refugees from Canada, met with many sympathizers. This was subsequently shewn most strikingly by Americans at Ogdensburg, along the south shore of Ontario, along the American side of the Niagara river, at Buffalo, Sandusky, and Detroit, throughout the year 1838. *

First, lawless men from Buffalo took possession of Navy Island, a short distance above the falls of Niagara, and, with artillery, bombarded the Canadian side. A ship called the *Caroline* was openly employed in conveying munitions of war, provisions and men from the United States shore.

Sir Allan McNab, a patriotic officer, and Speaker of the House of Assembly, directed a party of loyalists, under Lieutenant Drew, to capture that vessel on the American

* The American authorities, at first, were not careful to prevent attacks from being prepared, within their own borders, against the Provinces. Even arms and ammunition were allowed to be taken from the public arsenals, and expeditions to leave their side of the frontiers. But afterwards, when all the attempts of the refugees and sympathizers were baffled by the provincials themselves, the United States authorities did effectually, put an end to such proceedings.

side of the river. This was gallantly done, but, in the attempt to bring over the *Caroline* to the Canadian side, the current was found to be too strong. The vessel was therefore set on fire and allowed to go over the falls.*

This affair became a matter of dispute between the two countries, which was not settled until 1842. The sympathisers retired from Navy Island to the Mainland on January 14th, when batteries had been prepared on the Canadian side.

Next, expeditions were prepared at Cleveland and Detroit, and some fighting occurred at Amherstberg and other parts of the Canadian frontier, west of lake Erie. The Canadian militia everywhere effectually resisted all such attempts at invasion.

The chief leaders in those attacks, were, a person named *Van Ransselaer*, and another styled *Bill Johnson*—the latter a notorious character, seeking plunder and committing many outrages.

One of the most severe of the conflicts brought on by the border warfare occurred about the beginning of March between a *Patriot* force from Sandusky and troops of the 32nd Regiment under Col. Maitland. The sympathisers had established themselves on an island called *Point Pele*, belonging to Canada, in Lake Erie. They were commanded by a person named Sutherland. Being surrounded, they fought desperately, losing 53 men in killed and wounded. The British lost 30, and could not prevent the Ame-

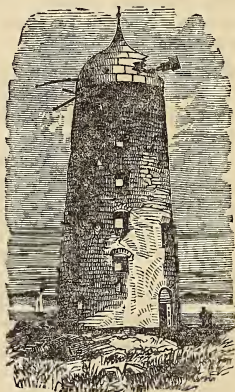
* The *cutting out* and destruction of this vessel were judged necessary by Sir Allan McNab in self-defence, as the conveyance of supplies to the sympathisers on Navy Island was clearly unlawful, and the United States authorities would not stop it. But the Americans considered it a violation of their territory. War was thought likely to occur, in consequence, between the United States and England.

The spectacle of the burning vessel, rushing over the falls of Niagara, was an extraordinary one. The Americans afterwards procured some parts of the timber of the *Caroline* to be preserved as curiosities. At present (1869) a part of the figure head of the *Caroline* is exhibited in a public room in the city of Buffalo.

ricans from making their way across the ice to the main land, and thus returning to Sandusky.

On the arrival of spring, reinforcements of troops from England, and the zeal of the inhabitants enabled, Sir John Colborne to place, at various points along the frontier, about 40,000 men.

The notorious Johnson, and a gang of brigands, seized and burned a fine steamer, called the Sir Robert Peel, at Wells Island. The crew and passengers were mal-treated and plundered. Other acts of piracy were perpetrated by the same lawless band. *



WIND MILL AT PRESCOTT.

The last attack or invasion of Upper Canada by the refugees and sympathisers, occurred nearly at the same time that Nelson was similarly occupied at Napierville in Lower Canada.

* The Governor of New-York at this time issued a proclamation forbidding all United States subjects from joining in attacks on Canada. He also endeavoured to cause Johnson and his band to be arrested.

On November 13th and 14th, several hundred men who had crossed from Ogdensburg and landed not far from Prescott were attacked by the loyalist militia. Desperate conflicts took place, ending in the complete defeat of the invaders. These lost upwards of sixty killed, besides a large number wounded. Nearly 150 were taken prisoners.

While the fighting was going on, the Americans from the opposite shore, cheered to encourage their countrymen and endeavoured to send reinforcements across the lake.

In these affairs the troops and militia suffered a considerable loss. But no one on the Canadian side joined the invaders as they had been led to anticipate. *

Sometime afterwards, during the first week in December, a similar series of conflicts occurred in the course of an invasion from Detroit, directed against Amherstberg, Sandwich, Windsor, and other places on that western frontier.

Some barbarities were committed and property destroyed. Colonel Prince, who commanded in that quarter, defeated all their attempts, routing the invaders and killing great numbers. Many prisoners were also taken.

The sympathisers and refugees finally retired across the frontier. Horrible to relate, nineteen of their number, unable to cross the river, and worn out by cold and starvation, were found frozen to death.

† 392. When active hostilities ceased, courts-martial were held for the trial of those taken in arms. Ten, chiefly Americans, were executed at Kingston, and three at London in Canada west. † Many prisoners were sentenced to

* An old wind-mill, of which a cut is given in the text, was the scene of much fighting and bloodshed.

† A short time before, some of the captured leaders of McKenzie's attack on Toronto, in December 1837, had been tried and executed. Others had been sent to the penitentiary.

transportation. Some, being lads, were discharged and allowed to retire to their own country. *

Such were the principal incidents of the troubles in Upper Canada, in 1837 and 1838. They were prolonged far more by the lawless endeavours of Americans than by *rebellion*.

393. Sir Francis Head had been recalled in January 1838, and was succeeded by Sir George Arthur—the last Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada.

394. Sir John Colborne, whose meritorious services and successful defence of Canada, in addition to his many noble qualities, had endeared him to all classes, was recalled at his own request in October, 1839. On the 23rd day of that month, he departed, his successor, Mr. Poulett Thompson, having arrived at Quebec. †

The British government had decided upon uniting the two Provinces, and had selected Mr. Thompson as the fittest person to prepare the way for bringing that about.

395. Mr. Thompson was a man of very great tact and ability. He soon succeeded in influencing the governing bodies—the Special Council of Lower Canada, and the Legislative Council and Assembly of the Upper Province—to concur in the plan of the Union.

* McKenzie after residing some time at New York went to live at Rochester, on the south shore of Lake Ontario. The people who had formerly sympathised with him soon came to regard him as a troublesome person taking unlawful advantage of the hospitality of Americans. He was arrested and brought to trial on a charge of unlawfully promoting armed invasions of the territory of a friendly power. Being found guilty by a jury, he was sentenced to be fined and to be imprisoned 18 months in a United States gaol.

He lived to regret his course of conduct, and was suffered to return to Canada about 8 years afterwards.

† The Queen transmitted to Sir John Colborne the "*Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath*."

On the occasion of his departure, addresses from Upper and Lower Canada were presented to him in grateful acknowledgement of his services to the country. After his return to England, he was raised to the Peerage, as *Lord Seaton*.

The majority of the French inhabitants of Lower Canada were against the project. * But there was now no House of Assembly, and the Special Council acted in their behalf. This body, and the Legislature of the Upper Province formally accepted the plan of Union, and sent addresses on the subject to the Queen.

A bill to accomplish the Union was passed by the British House of Commons and became law on July 21st, 1840, to take effect in Canada on February 10th, 1841.

396. In substance, the new Constitution gave to Canada one Legislature in place of two, and was framed after the model of that of England. Permanent provision was to be made for the payment of salaries to the Governor, judges, and the various officials of the government.

Members of the House of Assembly were to be in equal number for each Province, but to be *qualified* by the possession of a certain amount of property. The two languages were to be used in all documents, written or printed, concerning the proceedings of the Legislature.

The following subjects could not be dealt with, or Acts relating to them repealed, without the express sanction of the Imperial Legislature, namely, the dues and rights of the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church; the allotment of lands for the support of the Protestant clergy; endowments and forms of worship of any denomination of religion; clergy reserves and crown lands.

A total sum of £75,000 was to be taken from the Provincial revenues in lieu of all land revenues, and others, heretofore at the disposal of the crown.

The Legislative Council was to consist of not less than 20 members, appointed for life, and the Speaker to be named and removed by the Governor.

* One stated reason was a large debt, owed by Upper Canada, the burden of which was to be thrown on the United Provinces. Moreover the majority of Lower Canada would not form a majority in the Common Legislature, and it was feared by some lest their institutions and laws might be interfered with by the joint votes of the minority of Lower Canada and the majority of the Upper Province.

The charges on the revenue to be in the following order—expenses of collecting and managing the revenue; the public debt; payment of clergy of the churches of England and Scotland, and other ministers of religion, according to former usages; civil list of £75,000.

All money bills to be originated by the Governor and then to be first deliberated on by the House of Assembly. All the fundamental principles, such as Habeas Corpus, trial by jury, and administration of the laws in the manner already established in the Province, remained unaffected by the Union Act.

Such was the substance of the *fourth* system of government adopted since Canada became a British Province in 1763. *

CHAPTER SIXTH.

GENERAL PROGRESS.—INCREASE OF POPULATION.—EMIGRATION.—REVENUE.—IMPORTS AND EXPORTS.—PUBLIC WORKS.—RELIGION.—EDUCATION.—STEAM NAVIGATION.—NEWSPAPERS.—CHOLERA IN 1832 AND 1834.—ST. LOUIS CASTLE BURNED.

397. In the foregoing articles, bringing up our history to the year 1841, little has been said about *general progress* during the preceding thirty years. We can easily understand that this must have been less than it otherwise would have been owing to the American war, the dissension and political strife, and the sad outbreaks of 1837 and 1838.

But, notwithstanding these causes, the progress of Canada was great—in some respects very great.

In order to judge of this fully, it would be necessary to present many details which cannot be specified here. But

* A *military* government until 1774; from 1774 to 1791, the government by a Governor and Council; in 1791, a Legislature composed of Governor, Legislative Council, and Assembly of deputies elected by the people, besides an Executive Council. This last form of government continued from 1791 to 1841.

a useful opinion may be formed by taking notice of the following particulars.

398. Firstly, the population increased rapidly. From the most reliable sources of information on this point * we learn, that the numbers in both Provinces were at least doubled in the interval between 1800 and 1814. In 1825 there were about half a million of souls in Lower Canada, and nearly half as many in the Upper Province. At the time of the Union in 1841, or shortly afterwards, there appear to have been upwards of one million of people, taking those of both Provinces together.

One principal cause of the rapid increase of population was the immense *emigration* from Europe, especially from the British Isles; for between the time of the American war and the union of the two Provinces it is computed that at least 4 millions of people left Great Britain and Ireland to seek homes in other parts of the world. Of these about 1,000,000 came to British North America, of whom Canada gained a considerable share. † About 150,000 *immigrants* landed at Quebec in the four seasons from 1830 to 1833, followed by about 300,000 more in the course of the ensuing seven years. Of the immigrants it is thought that about *one-third* remained in Lower Canada, while the others went to Upper Canada and the United States. ‡

399. Secondly, we have some means of judging of the general progress by noticing, in different succeeding years,

* In taking the census at different times between 1800 and 1841, the returns were not always made together. Sometimes districts, or seigneuries, or counties were omitted. There were besides other causes of inaccuracy.

† Nearly 3 millions of emigrants from Britain went direct to the United States within the period mentioned.

‡ In the year 1831, there were upwards of 50,000 immigrants. Of these more than one-half, namely 26,500 settled in Upper Canada, 8,500 remained in the Quebec district, 5,500 in the city and district of Montreal, 1,500 in that of Three Rivers, and from 6,000 to 7,000 moved into the United States.

the amounts of the *revenue* and *expenditure* for public objects, the value of the goods *imported* and *exported*, and from the numbers of the ships and sailors that arrived at the Quebec harbour. Before the year 1800 the revenues seldom exceeded \$100,000. Ten years later they were about trebled, and continued to increase almost every year, until in 1833 they were not far short of a million of dollars. From that year up to the Union there was a less annual revenue, though it usually was about \$600,000.

Instead of two or three hundred ships, manned by a couple of thousand sailors, arriving each season at the Quebec harbour, as was the case about the beginning of the century, now, upwards of 1200 sea-going vessels, with crews amounting to fifteen or sixteen thousand men, came from beyond the sea. These brought goods, merchandise and luxuries, worth nine or ten millions of dollars, and bore away the grain, fish, ashes, timber and other products of the Provinces, which constituted their *exports*.

400. Next, great public improvements and works such as roads, canals, and light houses, were constant objects of care, notwithstanding the unhappy dissensions. These matters must be more particularly noticed in the next and last part of our history. It is enough to state here, that, between 1814 and 1827 about \$3,000,000 were voted by the House of Assembly for such purposes.

401. With respect to religion, the numbers both of Roman Catholic and Protestant clergymen increased greatly, although not in proportion to the wants of the people.

In 1810, there were 140 Roman Catholic clergy, increased to upwards of 220, in 1833.

A Protestant Bishop, the Rev. Jacob Mountain, had been appointed for Canada in 1793.* There were for a

* Mr. Plessis was then the Roman Catholic Bishop. When Dr. Mountain arrived he was welcomed by Catholics as well as Protestants. The retired Bishop Briant received him very cordially saying he was glad of his coming to "keep his people (the Protestants) in order." A cathedral at Quebec was built through

long time afterwards but few Protestant ministers of religion. By the year 1825 there were 60 Episcopalian clergymen in both Provinces, but there were many more ministers of other denominations—Congregationalists, Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians.

402. Nor were the claims of education neglected altogether, although it must be admitted, that, among the people at large, especially in the rural districts, there continued to be very great backwardness in this respect. * In addition to the means of instruction afforded by the ancient

the bounty of King George the Third in 1804., In 1806 the Rev. Mr. Stewart, belonging to a noble Irish family, came out and for some years acted as visiting missionary. He was much occupied in the Eastern Townships, and, when Bishop Mountain died, succeeded to the Bishopric.

M. Plessis was a very remarkable man, unequalled by any of his predecessors, except perhaps the first Bishop, M. Laval. Plessis was born in 1760, was of humble family and became Bishop in 1806, and afterwards the first Roman Catholic Archbishop of Quebec. It happened that he died in the same year as Bishop Mountain, namely in 1825. He was so much respected that the Governor and all the principal Protestants at Quebec did honor to his memory by attending his funeral in the same way as they had done when Bishop Mountain died, six months before. The Roman Catholic Clergy were so pleased with that mark of respect that they presented an address to the Governor on the subject. Earl Dalhousie replied that it was "the desire of His Majesty's government in Canada to pay them all the respect and attention in its power." Plessis had been long a member of the Legislative Council. He always exhorted his people to be peaceful, obedient to the laws, and to defend their country. He has been styled the ablest of all the Roman Catholic Bishops of Canada. He established many schools and colleges.

* Of the signers (87,000) of the petition mentioned in a former page, 9000, or about *one-tenth*, were all that could write their names, the others using their *marks* or crosses. As late as 1834 the "Constitutional Association" of Montreal complained that of the members of two grand juries, selected from among the most prosperous inhabitants of the rural parishes, only one or two could write their names. Trustees of schools were expressly allowed by law to attach their *marks* to their school reports instead of written signatures.

institutions at Montreal, Three Rivers, and Quebec, the *Seminaries* and Ursulines Convents for girls, new establishments were formed from time to time, as at Nicolet, St. Hyacinthe, St. Rochs and other places. Also, more particularly after 1826, large sums continued to be voted by the Assembly for the encouragement of elementary education. Societies for the promotion and diffusion of learning was also founded in the cities.* In 1830 and following years, the House of Assembly voted from 30 to 50 thousand dollars a year for education and schools. In 1832, a bill was passed for applying the income of the Jesuits' estates to the support of education, and thus a long vexed question was set at rest.† Later, in 1838, under the auspices of Earl Durham, a Commission was appointed to investigate the state of education and report suggestions for promoting it in the country.

403. A great many other proofs of general progress might be added, relative to provision made for gaols, hospitals, charities, and benevolent institutions of various kinds.

404. In 1830, the sum of \$12,000 was voted for the encouragement of *steam navigation* on the St. Lawrence. As early as 1809 the first steamer, the "*Accommodation*," made its appearance at Quebec after a voyage of 66 hours from Montreal. Ten years later, steamers were built at

* The Literary and Historical Society of Quebec was founded in 1824 by the Governor, Earl Dalhousie. This and the Natural History Society of Montreal, were supported in part by money voted by the House of Assembly.

† The House of Assembly seldom hesitated to vote money in favour of objects connected with the promotion and diffusion of knowledge, although at that time, there was a great lack of instructors and others to second their liberality and execute their wishes. In 1830, the sum of \$800 was voted in favour of *Joseph Lancaster*, a Quaker, to "enable him to make experiments on methods of teaching invented by him," and also \$1600 for M. Chasseur, in addition to \$1400 the preceding session, to aid him in keeping open and extending a "Museum" or collection of objects of natural history in the city of Quebec.

Prescott and lake Erie,* and soon afterwards became quite common on the Canadian waters.

405. In 1829, the number of representatives in the Assembly was increased from 50 to 84. Amongst these were 8 members for the Eastern Townships, who attended and voted in the House, for the first time, in 1830. The people of those Townships, numbering about 40,000, out of the 70,000, the number of persons of British origin then supposed to inhabit Lower Canada, had sent a petition to England claiming the right to be represented. †

406. Amongst other indications of progress mention must be made of the *Press*.

A great increase in the number of Newspapers, both in Upper and Lower Canada, took place in the course of the period between 1814 and 1841. The "*Canadien*," which had been suppressed by Sir James Craig was established again in 1831. This, with the papers mentioned in a former page, and the new ones, made *thirteen* for Lower Canada. In the same year there were 19 newspapers published in the Upper Province. ‡ Five years later, namely in 1836, the total number of newspapers in the two Provinces had increased from 32 to 50, as there were, by this time, 19 in Lower Canada, and 31 in Upper.

Unfortunately, however, the increase of the number of newspapers was due chiefly to increased bitterness of feeling in the disputes about public affairs.

* In 1819, steamers were employed between Lachine and the Ottawa, and in the same year was made the first trip by steam vessel, from Buffalo to Michillimakinac.

† In 1833, a company called "The British American Land Company" was formed in England for promoting the further settlement of the Eastern Townships. By this company, whose head quarters were established at Sherbrooke, 850,000 acres of the Crown Lands were purchased, and a great many emigrants were induced by it to settle in that section of country.

‡ Altogether, there were 45 Newspapers at this time published in British North America, for then, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward's Island numbered *thirteen* also.

407. One of the most calamitous incidents of the period now under notice, and only less to be deplored than the troubles which people, by their strife and passions, brought on themselves, was the occurrence of that dreadful scourge, *Cholera Morbus*. * Canada was afflicted by it in 1832, and again in 1834. Warnings and injunctions, to do all that could be done against its approach, were received beforehand from England, where it appeared in the winter of 1831-32. People in the Provinces, were, in fact, somewhat prepared for the coming of the cholera, but not for the severity and terrible mortality which ensued.

Upwards of 50,000 emigrants arrived that season—in 1832—from the British Isles. They brought with them the dreaded disease. Scarcely had the cold north-east winds and rains ceased, by which the spring was ushered in, when, on June 8th, word was brought to Quebec that about 60 persons had died of cholera among the passengers of an emigrant ship, just arrived at Grosse Isle, 30 miles distant. On the very next day, as if wafted by the wind, the disease was in the city. Within a few days, leaping as it were, from place to place, it appeared in Montreal, Kingston, Toronto, and nearly all the towns and villages of Western Canada.

Between the 8th, and 16th of June, nearly 400 cases were admitted into the General Hospital at Quebec, of which 180 were fatal. On June 20th, in Montreal, 165 new cases were reported within 24 hours, 88 of which were fatal. In the next 24 hours there were 137 cases and 77 deaths.

How many died in Canada from cholera, is not certainly known, although the number has been estimated at 20,000, but it continued to scourge and alarm the inhabitants of both Provinces until the heats of summer were succeeded by the cool days and nights of October.

It was most fatal in the Lower Province, and especially in the city of Quebec. The newspapers of the period state

* Commonly called the "Asiatic Cholera," because known to pass Westwards from Asia.

that out of a population little exceeding half a million, there died from cholera, in Lower Canada, more persons, within 3 months, than were cut off in England, in a population of fifteen millions, during twice the time.

In the city of Quebec, 3,290 persons fell victims up to September 30th. Such was the rate of mortality here, that it exceeded that of any other city—New York, London and Paris included. About two-thirds of the cases were those of residents of the Province, not emigrants or newcomers. The gloomy feelings and despondency of the inhabitants, both in 1832 and 1834, * were heightened by the prevailing dissensions. Even the presence of the awful pestilence did not prevent these from being manifested, as heretofore, whenever opportunity of exhibiting them presented itself. †

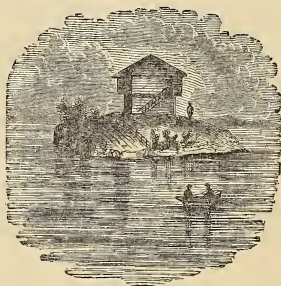
408. On the 23rd of January 1834, the citizens of Quebec were the unwilling witnesses of a grand but painful spectacle—the sudden destruction of the lofty castle of St. Louis. It caught fire about noon. The governor and Lady Alymer were resident there at the time. A large crowd assembled, but could do nothing towards saving the structure. The weather was extremely cold, and there were then in the city none of the now common appliances for extinguishing conflagrations.

The loss of this edifice was a matter of much concern. It had been commenced by Champlain himself, the founder of Quebec, and had, since his time, for 200 years, been

* In this year the Asiatic Cholera made its second appearance in Canada. The severity and accompanying mortality of the second visit were greater than in 1832. Quebec and Montreal suffered more than other places.

† A public meeting was held on July 30th, 1832, at the village of *Debartzch*, in the Parish of St. Charles, noted, a few years later, as the scene of a bloody conflict between the insurgents and the forces of Colonel Wetherall. At that meeting the disputes about public matters were discussed in an evil and violent spirit. Respecting the pestilence a resolution was passed, to the effect that, "England will always be held accountable for permitting an extensive emigration while the cholera was raging."

the headquarters of all the French and British Governors of Canada. Its walls had borne, without much damage, the effects of the sieges of 1690, 1759, and 1775. In 1809, it had received the addition of a third story, besides other improvements, at a cost of about \$60,000. It was not afterwards rebuilt. Some of its out-buildings have been converted to the use of the Laval Normal School, and its commanding site is now the Durham Terrace.



Blockhouse near Brockville.

PART FOURTH.

CHAPTER FIRST.

POPULATION OF THE TWO CANADAS AT THE UNION—THE LEGISLATURE—SEAT OF GOVERNMENT AND MEETING OF THE FIRST PARLIAMENT—MEASURES—DEATH OF LORD SYDENHAM—CHARACTER OF THE LATE GOVERNOR—FRUITS OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION—DIVISIONS OF THE HISTORY FROM 1841 TO 1867—UNITED CANADA NOT EXPOSED TO ALL OF THE EVILS OF FORMER PERIODS.

409. At the time of the union of the two Provinces in 1841, the population of Upper Canada was 465,000 and of Lower Canada, about 625,000, making a total of 1,090,000. Of this number it has been computed that there were 480,000 of French origin in both Provinces, and 610,000, descendants of British or other races. Moreover, as regards religious faith, the Roman Catholics of United Canada amounted to 585,000, those of all other denominations, not Roman Catholics, to 405,000.

It was hoped by the well-wishers of the United Provinces, that, from the time of union, the foundations of harmony strength and prosperity would prove to be established in security. The general nature of the new constitution has been stated already, in a former page.

In the new House of Assembly, the people were represented by 84 elected members—42 for each of the old Provinces. The Legislative Council, consisting at first of life-members, named by the Crown, came, presently, to be

elective also, and to be composed of 48 members—24 for each Province. *

Such being the composition of the new Legislature, the elections for the first Parliament of the Union were held in March 1841.

Kingston, the ancient *Cataragui* and *Frontenac*, now a considerable city, was selected as the seat of government. There, on the 13th of June, the Hon. Poulett Thompson, now Lord Sydenham, opened the first parliament.

410. As might have been expected, there were witnessed, in this very first session, traces of ancient dissension owing to party feeling still existing in Upper and Lower Canada. Accordingly, two parties were immediately formed in the Assembly, each member joining and voting with that of which the views on public questions agreed best

* GOVERNORS GENERAL OF CANADA since the passage of the Union Act of 1841.

NAMES.	FROM	TO
LORD SYDENHAM, Governor General.	10th Feb., 1841.	19th Sept., 1841.
Major General John Clitherow, Deputy Governor	18th Sept., 1841.	19th Sept., 1841.
Sir R. D. Jackson, Administrator.	24th Sept., 1841.	11th Jan., 1842.
SIR CHARLES BAGOT, Governor General.	12th Jan., 1842.	29th March, 1843.
LORD METCALFE, Governor General.	30th March, 1843.	25th Nov., 1845.
LORD CATHCART, Administrator.	26th Nov., 1845.	23rd April, 1846.
do., Governor General.	24th April, 1846.	29th Jan., 1847.
LORD ELGIN, Governor General.	30th Jan., 1847.	18th Dec., 1854.
Major General W. Rowan, Deputy Governor.	29th May, 1849.	30th May, 1849.
Lieutenant General W. Rowan, Administrator during the absence of the Governor General.	23rd Aug., 1853.	10th June, 1854.
SIR E. W. HEAD, Governor General.	19th Dec., 1854.	24th Oct., 1861.
Sir William Eyre, Administrator during the absence of the Governor General.	21st June, 1857.	2nd Nov., 1857.
Lieutenant General Williams, Administrator during the absence of the Governor General.	12th Oct., 1860.	22nd Feb., 1861.
LORD MONCK, Administrator.	23th Oct. 1861.	27th Nov., 1861.
Do., Governor General.	28th Nov., 1861.	
Lieutenant General Michel, Administrator in the absence of the Governor General.	30th Sept., 1865.	12th Feb., 1866.

with his own. In consequence, an *opposition* to the government ‡ was formed, consisting of about 20 Upper Canada members and almost the same number of Lower Canadians.

The affairs proposed to be dealt with at this session were very important indeed, for they included the *Post Office* arrangements; systems of *public education* for each Province; the establishment of a *municipal system* to enable the people in cities, towns, and townships, to manage their own local business; *finances* and the *currency*; *the laws relating to duties on goods imported*; and *public works*.

A member of the Cabinet, Mr. Baldwin, disagreeing with his colleagues on some of the above named questions, resigned his seat as an Executive Councillor and joined the opposition in the House.

411. The session lasted until September, when a very great misfortune occurred.

Lord Sydenham had gone through an immense amount of exertion, inconvenience, and anxiety, in the course of his labours in bringing about the Union, and through the difficulties connected with procuring the passage of his measures by the House of Assembly. His health was deeply injured. While taking exercise on horseback, on

‡ There was now, as heretofore, an Executive Council composed of persons chosen by the governor. It is this body which is commonly styled "*the Cabinet*" and "*the government*." Lord Sydenham's Executive Council consisted of 8. But there was this great difference between the present and former Executive Councils, namely, that, when a member of the House was called to be an Executive Councillor, he lost, for the time, his seat as a representative, until re-elected. If his constituents did not choose to re-elect him, then he could neither be a member of the House nor act as a councillor. Again, the Executive Council or Cabinet could not continue in office unless it could, in support of its measures, command a majority of the votes of the members in each branch of the Legislature.

It is this system which is called "Responsible Government." It gives the electors, that is the people, a voice in the conduct of public affairs. Moreover, the Cabinet, as in England, is thus held responsible for all the public Acts of the Governor.

the 4th of September, he fell and broke his leg. This accident, in his weak condition, produced fatal consequence, for he died fifteen days afterwards. On September 18th, by the desire of the dying governor, general Clitheroe was deputed to prorogue the Legislature.

412. Lord Sydenham has been pronounced deserving of a high place in Canadian history, on account of his qualities as a governor, and the success which attended his conduct of public affairs at a most critical period. He was a highly gifted person, wise, industrious, persevering, and possessed of vast knowledge and experience in business. In addition, he was firm, though of a conciliatory spirit. He shewed remarkable tact in overcoming obstacles, and in winning over to his own views those public men who differed from him. In short, he had been selected for his high office by the British government on account of his many noble qualities. *

Agreeably to his own request, expressed shortly before his decease, his mortal remains were interred at Kingston.

413. The session of parliament had been brought to a close before the measures referred to in the last page, were nearly completed, so that it remained for future parliaments to do this. The important object of introducing into Canada suitable *Municipal* and *Educational* systems was not actually carried out until a number of years had elapsed after the time of Lord Sydenham. †

414. The constitution of 1841 having then been fairly put into operation, we have now, in this last part of our history to learn what its fruits were. Although it did not endure long—for, before it had existed a single quarter of a century people were heartily tired of it, and demanded a change—yet, while it lasted, prodigious progress was made in respect of population, commerce, wealth, and general

* In 1840, the title of Baron Sydenham and Toronto was conferred upon him by Her Majesty Queen Victoria.

† Municipal systems were not organized in Upper and Lower Canada until the years 1849 and 1850, respectively. See pages 288-291 with respect to Municipalities and Education.

prosperity. Also, very important changes were effected, relating to the tenure of land in Lower Canada, and to the Clergy Reserves in both sections of the United Provinces, by which ancient and exceedingly troublesome causes of dissension were settled for ever. These, and other great results, which we shall have to mention, cannot, it is true, be ascribed to the constitution itself, further than that it rendered possible, by legislation, the bringing about of measures which could never have been carried out under former constitutions.

Within the compass to which it is necessary to confine this work, we cannot, of course, describe many details of the history from 1841 to 1867. Such of these, however, as it may be proper to introduce, will, for the sake of clearness, be taken in the following order: firstly, the *Governors* and *Legislatures* with their principal acts and proceedings; secondly, *general progress*, with a statement of the chief facts concerned; and, lastly, the *facts* and *causes* which led to the repeal of the Constitution of 1841 and to its being replaced by that of 1867.

415. Happily, in one respect, the period embraced between 1841 and 1867, will be found to differ signally from the former periods treated of in this book. For the course of events in United Canada was not marked by scenes of warfare, bloodshed, and misery, such as had afflicted the country on various occasions heretofore. With one comparatively slight exception,* there was no invasion of the territory—no war in which Canada was called upon to take part. At one time, indeed, during the period, the Mother country was involved in a great foreign war! † Also, the neighbouring United States, were exposed to all the horrors of a frightful civil war. ‡ Canada, however, although necessarily subjected to some inconveniences, was happily spared.

* The so-called "*Fenian Invasion*," in 1865.

† The *Crimean War*, waged by England, France and Italy against Russia in 1854 and 1855.

‡ The civil war which broke out in 1861 and continued to 1865.

CHAPTER SECOND.

SIR C. BAGOT, GOVERNOR.—LORD METCALFE, GOVERNOR.—GREAT FIRES IN QUEBEC IN 1845.—EARL CATHCART, GOVERNOR.—REBELLION LOSSES.—LORD ELGIN, GOVERNOR.—REBELLION LOSSES BILL PASSED IN 1849.—RIOTS IN MONTREAL.—SIR EDMUND HEAD, GOVERNOR.—SEAT OF GOVERNMENT.—NORTH WEST TERRITORY.—LORD MONCK, GOVERNOR.—THE FENIANS.

416. Sir Charles Bagot, the successor of Lord Sydenham, arrived in January 1842. His was a brief administration, for he died at Kingston in May 1843.

There were, however, several circumstances especially worthy of mention in connection with Sir Charles Bagot's governorship. When the parliament met ancient causes of dissension were made the subjects of debate, and were unnecessarily introduced in connection with all the important matters proposed for legislation.

Another circumstance, alluded to above, was, the presence, in Sir Charles Bagot's Executive Council, of a number of men of great talent, who, from that time, took leading parts in the public affairs of Canada, amongst whom were *Mr. Baldwin*, *Mr. Daly*, *Mr. Lafontaine*, and *Mr. Hincks*.* It was no longer the case that the favour of the Sovereign's representative in Canada was absolutely necessary, as in former days, to a man's promotion in public life. Any one who could obtain the suffrages of electors could find his way into the Legislature. When there, if a man's ability, and other qualifications procured for him many supporters among his fellow-legislators, the governor would be obliged to summon him

* Several of these gentlemen, after active careers in *politics*, became Judges. One of them, Mr. Lafontaine, was *Premier* in five succeeding Executive Councils, after 1851. Mr. Hincks was a member of 10 different councils between 1842 and 1853, was then knighted and appointed governor of another British colony. Mr. Daly (Sir Dominick Daly) also became a Colonial Governor.

to the Executive Council. No man, unsupported by the favour of members of the Legislature could count on that species of promotion, which if occasionally accorded to men of inferior ability, was at least not long enjoyed.

This was, of course, a feature of the system of responsible government, such as was effectually established under the Constitution of 1841. *

417. Sir Charles Bagot was succeeded by Lord Metcalfe, who, in consequence of Sir Charles's failing health, became Governor General in March, 1843. †

Lord Metcalfe made some appointments to office without consulting his Executive Council. This, and some other occasions of difference of opinion, led to changes in the Cabinet, and also to the first dissolution of parliament which occurred after the Union. New elections took place, after which, as it had been determined to change the seat of government, the second parliament was summoned to meet at Montreal, on November 28th, 1844. A great deal of party spirit was shewn during the session, and the measures proposed by the Executive Council were passed with very small majorities. Sir Allan McNab was then Speaker of the House of Assembly.

418. By this time, also, a great change had taken place in the opinions of many thoughtful persons respecting the circumstances connected with the late rebellions in Cana-

* It is been already generally explained that the Sovereign in England and the Sovereign's representative—the Governor-General—in Canada, are not held personally accountable to the people for the course of government that is pursued. Instead of that, their advisers, that is to say, the members of their Executive Councils, are made responsible. Accordingly, when the measures proposed are not approved of by the members of the Legislature, so as to be voted against by a majority, then, in most cases, the Cabinet or Executive Councillors, go out of office.

† Sir Charles Bagot had requested to be recalled. He died in Kingston on May 19th, about two months after surrendering the governorship to Sir Charles Metcalfe, who was raised to the peerage in the following year.

da. Not only were Louis Papineau and William Lyon McKenzie permitted to return to the country, but they, as well as Dr. Wolfred Nelson, were elected by large majorities to seats in the assembly. Those once notorious agitators, two of whom had openly taken up arms against the government, came now to be regarded, by an increasing number of persons, in the light of men who had merely erred in the defence of good principles, and whose zeal had carried them too far in a good cause.

419. Lord Metcalfe retired in November 1845. He had resigned owing to illness, being afflicted with a cancer in his face. He was not looked upon as a successful governor, but was universally esteemed as a man. He had previously been governor of Jamaica.

Lord Metcalfe died shortly after his return to England.

420. During Lord Metcalfe's governorship, a terrible calamity befel the inhabitants of Quebec. Great conflagrations, on May 28th, and June 28th, 1845, nearly destroyed the city, more particularly the property situated in St. Roch's and Lower Town. About 24,000 inhabitants were rendered houseless, of whom many, previously well off, were reduced to poverty. For the relief of the sufferers considerably more than half a million of dollars were subscribed in England and America.

421. The next governor was Earl Cathcart. He was Commander-in-chief of the forces at the time of Lord Metcalfe's departure, when he became Administrator, until appointed Governor General in April 1846. He continued in office, as Governor, until January 1847, when the Earl of Elgin succeeded him.

422. The public business in Earl Cathcart's time was

* Other circumstances shewed the change of people's sentiments about the rebellion. Arrears of salary to Mr. Papineau, computed to a date after the outbreaks, were paid to him on account of his former office of Speaker in the House of Assembly.

At this time the question of recompensing all persons whose property had been destroyed during the rebellion, excepting only those who had been lawfully convicted of having taken up arms, began to be commonly discussed.

of a very important nature. The Legislature proceeded to deal with questions which had excited much feeling among the people—relating to the Control of the Post Office department, the payment of the sufferers whose property had been destroyed in the rebellion, Public Education, and the Clergy Reserves.

Respecting the two last named subjects, which will be referred to again in a future chapter, it is only necessary to say, here, that the final settlement of the Clergy Reserves did not take place until 1854, while, for the promotion of Public Education, an important Bill was passed in 1846. With regard to the Post Office department, there was a desire to assume its entire management, under officials responsible to the government of Canada. At present it was under the authorities in England. This matter also was settled in due time, although several years elapsed before a satisfactory arrangement could be effected. In view of ultimately providing compensation for losses sustained by individuals during the rebellion, Earl Cathcart appointed commissioners to inquire into the nature of all claims. The difficulty was to distinguish correctly between those which were just, and those which were altogether unfounded, or magnified, or brought forward by persons who themselves had taken part in the resistance to lawful authority. Mr. Draper was then the chief of the cabinet, Mr. Papineau being one of its members. Six commissioners, who had been named for the work, recommended payment for all losses of property occasioned by the rebellion in Upper Canada. A proposal to this effect having been made in the Legislature, the members opposed to the government agreed to it, on condition that all the Loyalists, who had been sufferers in Lower Canada, should also be compensated. Much more, however, was required to be done before the end in view would be accomplished. Unhappily, quarrels arose, and an immense amount of excitement and agitation throughout the Province. At the end of three years a Bill for the regulation of this business was passed and became law, under painful circumstances, which will be stated presently.

423. Lord Elgin entered upon the duties of his office in January 1847. He was Governor nearly eight years, until December 1854. *

Very important legislation occurred, affecting commerce, navigation and the finances of the country. Hitherto the navigation laws of England had regulated the trade of Canada. But now those laws were much changed by the Parliament of the mother country, and, in consequence, Canada was allowed to establish such changes as her own wants and interests dictated. In fact she was left free to regulate her own *tariff*, † and to deal with other nations, irrespectively of the commerce of England, on such terms as she pleased to concert with them. §

424. In 1849, Messrs Lafontaine and Baldwin being leaders in the Cabinet, and representatives of public opinion in Lower and Upper Canada, respectively, a Bill was introduced to pay all sufferers ‡ of loss in the rebellion who had not been actually convicted, in courts of law, of promoting the outbreaks of 1837 and 1838. This appeared to afford an opportunity of setting up many claims in cases of persons who had been rebels, although their guilt

* During his governorship, Lord Elgin was absent for nearly a year from August 1853. As usual, the commander of the forces, then General William Rowan, acted in place of the absent Governor, under the title of Administrator, from August, 1853, to June, 1854.

† The scale of duties or taxes imposed on goods imported or exported.

§ It must not be understood by this that Canada had the power, at this time, of making treaties like an independent nation without the sanction of England. What is stated means, merely, that she could now regulate the duties to be paid by the ship-owners and merchants of other countries, including even those of England, as well as prescribe the taxes to be paid by those who exported goods from the Province. The merchants of England afterwards complained of the taxing of their goods sent to Canada.

‡ A sum of about \$10,000 had been already paid to sufferers in Lower Canada in consequence of the action taken in 1846. The present action was for paying the remainder, or the balance due on all claims against which the commissioners had not reported.

had not been legally proved. The real purpose of the Bill was to pay for all destruction of property by rebels, but not to reward rebels themselves. However, intense excitement was occasioned throughout the Provinces when it became known that the passage of the "Rebellion-Losses Bill" might involve, in some cases, the compensation of persons who had been open or secret supporters of the outbreaks. Great public meetings were held, at which the proposals of the government were loudly denounced. But, nevertheless, the Bill was passed, and Lord Elgin felt it to be his duty to assent to it, on April 26th, 1849. "No pay to rebels" had become a watch word of the opponents of the measure, who even were treasonable in their language, openly expressing themselves willing to cast away their allegiance to the crown of England, and advocating *annexation* to the United States. Owing to the passage of the Bill, riots took place, in the Upper Province, as well as in Lower Canada. In Montreal, the Governor was insulted and his carriage broken, as he was returning from the House after assenting to the Bill. The residences of the members of the Executive Council were ruthlessly destroyed by the mob.

In course of the riot at Montreal, a cry was raised "to the Parliament House!" Thither the mob proceeded, and, after putting an end to the business going on within the walls, by noise and shouts, and the breaking in of doors and windows, forced their way into the Legislative halls. Desks, tables, and benches were soon broken to pieces. * Many gentlemen who endeavoured to oppose the torrent of violence, and to save pictures and papers, were mal-treated.

Presently the work of violence was completed by setting fire to the Parliament Buildings. Smoke and flames issuing from the basement induced many to make efforts to save the library and public records. But these efforts were vain. The flames spread rapidly, and a vast conflagration

* A ruffian, seated himself in the Speaker's chair, and in derision, waived his hand shouting "I dissolve this House."

gration ensued, in which public property, exceeding in value the amount voted in the Rebellion-Losses Bill, was destroyed. ‡ In some respects the amount of the loss could not be estimated, since that of the Records, and of the Library, including a large number of important documents relating to Canadian and American history, could never be replaced.

These events were sincerely deplored by all well disposed persons. Lord Elgin was presented with addresses, expressive of sympathy and admiration of his firm resolution in performing what he considered to be his duty. The Earl tendered his resignation to the English government. But the home authorities also approved of his conduct, and declined to recall him.

425. The disgraceful proceedings which have been related put an end to legislation for that year. In the course of time, the excitement ceased. But the Governor transferred the seat of government from Montreal to Toronto.

426. Lord Elgin's governorship was extremely important for Canada, on account of numerous great questions which were either settled, or brought into a shape ready for settlement. The peace and progress of the Province were deeply concerned in bringing them all to an issue. They were, chiefly, the following, namely: *the Clergy Reserves system of Upper Canada; Post Office department; Railway projects; the Seigniorial Tenure of Land; and Reciprocity in trade* with the United States.* Foundations of future progress and the removal of long standing causes of strife in the country were the ends aimed at, and secured, by the laws passed.

427. The Earl of Elgin was succeeded, at the close of the year 1854, by Sir Edmund Head.

‡ It was estimated that upwards of half a million dollars worth of property was destroyed. The Rebellion Losses Bill was for the amount of £100,000 currency.

* A full account of the agitation and settlement of all these matters would be unsuitable in a book like this and the following must suffice: the Clergy Reserves question was arranged in 1854,

Sir Edmund's governorship lasted seven years, until the month of October 1860, and was remarkable, in the first place, for the actual carrying out, or perfecting, of several of the great measures introduced or provided for under his predecessor. The large sum of \$2,600,000 was voted by the Legislature, in order to recompense the Seigneurs for what they would lose by the change of law respecting the tenure of land. This was done in 1855, and, in the following year, the change of constitution already mentioned, and by which Legislative Councillors came to be elected, was completed. *

Various improvements continued to be made, by legislation, in regard to all the important interests of Canada some of which will be noticed in the ensuing chapter among the statements relative to general progress. In fact, for some time after the departure of Lord Elgin, a state

so that the widows and orphans of *deceased* protestant clergymen and ministers were provided for, those *living* were secured their incomes, and the remaining land and money were divided among the municipalities; the *election of Legislative Councillors* was provided for by an alteration of the Constitution of 1841, which took effect in 1856; the *Separate School system* of Upper Canada began to be used in 1851; in the same year (1851) the *Post Office* came under the Canadian government instead of being managed in England, and the uniform charge of 5 cents per letter for postage was introduced; in 1851 and following years the present *great railroad system* was settled by the Legislature of Canada, including the Grand Trunk Railway; in 1854, and 1855, *Reciprocity* with the United States, and the end of the *Seigniorial System* were brought about.

* For this purpose the whole Province was divided into 48 *electoral* districts. Of the 48 elected members, 12 were to go out of office, and new elections for as many to be held, at *the end of every two years*, so that every 8 years the entire council would be changed, except as respected those members who might be re-elected. But at first the old and appointed members were allowed to remain until removed by death or otherwise, so that it would be some time before all the sitting members would be those elected by the people.

It will be seen that this system was changed in 1867.

Three years before the change was made in regard to the Legislative Council, namely in 1853, the number of members of the

of comparative concord took the place of former strife about public affairs. The activity of public men was then mostly exercised in devising the means of turning to account measures already adopted. Peace and prosperity seemed as if about to become the settled lot of Canada. But, presently, one of the very causes or proofs of prosperity—the more rapid increase of inhabitants in Upper Canada—introduced new subjects of agitation and excitement. It will be seen that this not only occasioned much perplexity in regard to the conduct of public affairs, but also resulted in bringing to an end the constitution of 1841, and in the establishing of the one under which we now live.

428. It has been mentioned that the seat of government in the times of Lord Sydenham, Sir Charles Bagot and Lord Metcalfe was at Kingston. The last named Governor, in 1844, summoned the Legislature of United Canada to meet in Montreal, whence, on account of the disturbances in 1849, Lord Elgin transferred the meetings of Parliament to Toronto. From that time Toronto and Quebec, by turns, became the seat of Government. This moving system was found to be tiresome and expensive, so that efforts were made to establish some one fixed place for headquarters. No agreement, however, could be come at, as to the most suitable. Many times the subject was debated in the House, and voted upon in vain. At length the Legislature petitioned the Queen to decide, when Her Majesty, in 1858, appointed the city of Ottawa * to be the future capital of Canada.

429. During the latter part of Sir Edmund Head's governorship, public attention in Canada was much roused in regard to adjacent territories, commonly called the *North West*, which, since the year 1670, had remained

House of Assembly was raised from 84 to 130. Although Upper Canada was increasing in population faster than Lower Canada, the number of members for each was still kept equal, that is, 65 in place of 42.

* Formerly named *Bytown*, after *Colonel By*, who had been much concerned in the construction of the Rideau Canal between the river Ottawa, at Bytown, and Lake Ontario, at Kingston.

subject to a trading Society — *The Hudson Bay Company*. That region was mostly devoted to the occupation of Indians, and Canadian hunters, who brought in the products of the chase and traded with the Company's servants at their different posts. In course of time a settlement was formed, in a fertile valley watered by the *Red River*, which runs northwards into Lake Winnipeg. Here, in the year 1812, the Hudson's Bay Company had sold to *Lord Selkirk*, for a large sum of money, a tract of more than 50 millions of acres. * To reach the Red River settlement, the traveller has to pass beyond Lake Superior towards the Lake of the Woods, and thence, still pursuing a North Westerly route, to Fort Garry, the principal station or capital. Although it was so distant, and far north, situated in the very heart of the North American continent, the people of Canada desired to include the *North West* under their own government, hoping to establish fresh colonies, and, ultimately, to extend the Province across the continent to British Columbia.

This great scheme, however, though favoured by the British Government, was not immediately carried out. In fact, its completion was reserved for the time when a still larger project — the *Union of the British North American Colonies* — was destined to be brought about.

430. Sir Edmund Head's governorship ended in October 1861, when the last of the Governors General of United Canada, *Viscount Monck*, succeeded him. †

431. The conduct of public affairs during Lord Monck's administration, was marked by want of concord in the Legislature, and, towards its close, by the completion of

* The Hudson's Bay Company afterwards bought back the land sold to Lord Selkirk.

The Red River settlement had ten or eleven thousand inhabitants about the time when Lord Monck became Governor of Canada.

† From June to November 1857, and again from October 1860 to February 1861, Sir Edmund Head, was absent, and during those intervals, replaced by Administrators, General Sir Wm. Eyre and

the great project mentioned above. * Although Canada continued to improve wonderfully in regard to population, resources, and general progress, yet the leading men of the Legislature were divided into parties so strongly opposed to each other that serious results seemed, for a time, likely to ensue.

It would be impossible here to give all the particulars. A few statements, however, will suffice to show the condition in which affairs came to be placed.

Those who opposed the government were often able, by the number of votes, to prevent the passage of a Bill. When one did pass, it was by a small majority of two or three. In fact, the most necessary measures, such as voting the supplies, could be carried only by permission of the "*opposition*."

The majority of members representing Upper Canada were often hindered in obtaining laws useful for their Province by the minority. This was managed through the aid of the Lower Canada minority, who were also able to hinder good Legislation in their section. The consequence was mutual dissatisfaction in both Provinces.

Change after change, was made in the government itself, that is, the persons composing the Cabinet or Executive Council. No less than *five* such changes occurred in two years, between May 1862 and June 1864. There were also new elections of members of the House of Assembly. But the result was always the same. The new Cabinets could not obtain sufficient support in the new Houses to outvote the "*opposition*." The numbers of members on opposite sides were always too nearly equal. Neither party would give way, and there came to be in the Legislature what was called a "*deadlock*." In the course

General Sir Fenwick Williams. The completion of the Victoria Bridge and the visit of the Prince of Wales, while Sir Edmund was Governor, are noticed in the ensuing chapter.

* It will be seen that at first only *four* of the Provinces were united—namely, Upper Canada, Lower Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.

of debates in the House, members sometimes ceased to be polite towards each other, uttering threats and taunts across the floor. Meanwhile, people outside, in the Province, and in England, who had anything to do with Canada in matters of commerce or money, lost confidence. The credit of the Province was seriously damaged. Altogether, such was the state of things that many thoughtful persons supposed the time drawing near when scenes like those of 1837 and 1838 would be witnessed again.

Before the year 1851, it was supposed that Upper Canada had quite as many inhabitants as Lower Canada; and, when the census was taken, it turned out that it had 62,000 more. The next census, that of 1861, shewed a much greater difference, namely, 285,000. Upper Canada was plainly increasing in population faster than the Lower Province. Consequently the Upper Canadians demanded that the numbers of representatives for the two Provinces should no longer remain equal, as had been settled in the constitution of 1841. But the Lower Canadians would not permit or agree to such a change. This difference between the two Provinces was the occasion of many of the difficulties of legislation which have been adverted to. "*Representation by Population*," the demand of Upper Canada, became a sort of motto, or party cry. The leaders and members of the House, on that subject, formed two almost evenly balanced parties, one for, and the other against, the change of constitution. So matters went on until 1864, when the difficulties seemed past remedy.

But, through the Providence of God, a remedy was devised, namely, *Confederation of the British North American Provinces*, which forms the subject of the last chapter of this history.

432. While these contentions were going on in the Legislature of Canada, the civil war between the United States and the Confederate States of America, was raging. Owing to an act of an American Commodore, * there was

* See foot note, page 288, relative to passengers forcibly removed from the English mail-steamer, *Trent*.

some danger of England, and, consequently, of Canada becoming involved. Troops were even sent out in the autumn of 1861, to be in readiness for expected hostilities. Although these were happily averted, yet, during the continuance of the struggle, it often seemed scarcely possible for Canada to escape being drawn in. Some of her newspapers openly advocated the cause of the Confederates, whose refugees were received in Canadian cities with marks of sympathy. This much displeased the government and people of the northern States, and incidents occurred, from time to time, of a nature to foster hostile feelings. * Towards the end of the civil war, in 1865, the time of the Reciprocity Treaty expired, and the American government, refused to have it renewed. This was a source of loss and injury to both countries. †

433. There was at this time in the United States a society, or *brotherhood*, consisting of persons who styled themselves *Fenians*. They were Irish settled in the States, or of Irish descent. Their declared object was to separate Ireland from Great Britain by force, and, with that view, to begin by attacking and seizing Canada. At various points along the borders, but more especially at Buffalo and some other places in the State of New York, these people collected in considerable numbers. They made a parade of drilling bodies of armed men, and of gathering together munitions of war in preparation for the invasion of Canada.

The militia of Canada were ordered out and the regular troops then in the Province were held in readiness by general Michel.

In the month of June 1865, incursions across the

* Notwithstanding their displeasure the people of the North were glad to receive into their armies recruits from Canada. A great many Canadians of French origin—it is said, more than 40,000 at one time—served in the Northern ranks, enticed by the high pay and the *bounties*,

† This Treaty lasted 10 years. It caused a great increase in the trade between the Province and the States. In the very first year, its value advanced from 2 millions to 20 millions of dollars.

frontiers actually took place. A large body made for, and established itself, at the site of the ancient fort Erie. Other bands made their appearance on the frontiers of Vermont.

More excitement was occasioned in Canada by these movements than the circumstances warranted, for, as a military display, the whole affair was contemptible. Nevertheless an encounter took place between the lawless invaders and a body of volunteers, whose too great zeal impelled them to move forward in advance of the troops and militia. Several of the young men lost their lives and there was some destruction of property. But when the troops came up, the invaders hastened to recross the boundary. Some of their number were captured and lodged in gaol. * The movement from Vermont was easily repulsed after the exchange of a few distant shots. Although the militia of the Province was easily able to defend the country against such hordes of ruffians as those who had ventured across the borders, yet, since the authorities in the States did not see fit to stop the Fenian demonstrations within their own territory, the people of Canada were, for a long time, put to expense and inconvenience, through the necessity of continuing prepared to repel any fresh incursion.

434. In a preceding article § a general description has been given of the difficulties which beset the management of public affairs; and it is there stated, that, happily, means of surmounting them, were at length found.

The first and most necessary step was for the leading men to lay aside for a time their differences, and meet each other in a purely patriotic spirit, in order to see if they could settle, among themselves, upon some united course of action. This was not only an unusual but also a difficult step to take. † Nevertheless, to their great cre-

* They were mostly wretched looking youths who had been misled by the Fenian leaders.

§ Art. 431.

† The manifestation of unpleasant feelings, growing out of party spirit, was not confined to debates in the Legislature, for the influence of those feelings was shewn even in personal intercourse.

dit be it said., the party leaders did adopt it, in the most frank and praiseworthy manner. Canada, in her previous history, had never wanted for eminent men to guide her counsels and defend her from enemies. From the days of the noble Champlain down to the period to which we now allude, we have a grand list of distinguished men, such as would grace the annals of any country. The leading public men of the period from 1841 to 1867, were not one whit behind their predecessors, although so differently situated. Representing great communities, they could not in the halls of the Legislature, either abandon the interests confided to them, or agree upon the measures by which those interests were to be promoted. But when they laid aside party spirit, and sacrificed their personal feelings and views, and when they came together with the disposition mentioned above, they were enabled to arrive at results of the utmost value to their country. Seizing their opportunity, they, as it were at one stroke, succeeded in laying the foundations of a great and free nation, thus accomplishing more than all the eminent public men who had gone before.

CHAPTER THIRD.

GENERAL PROGRESS—POPULATION—TRADE AND COMMERCE—DEBT—PUBLIC WORKS—INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION OF 1851—RAILWAYS—VICTORIA BRIDGE—VISIT OF THE PRINCE OF WALES IN 1860—THE PRINCE IN THE UNITED STATES—INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION OF 1862—MUNICIPAL SYSTEM—PUBLIC EDUCATION. (A. D. 1841-1867.)

435. We shall judge of the general progress of United Canada by the same means as before, namely, the increase of population, the finances, public works, state of education, and the other leading particulars upon which the advancement of a country depends. When these are examined, the growth of the Province will be seen to have been wonderfully rapid after the year 1841.

436. It was stated in Art. 398, that the total population

was upwards of 1,000,000 at the time of the Union in the last named year. In ten years it increased to 1,842,000, * and ten years later still, when another census was taken, it was upwards of 2,500,000. † Such, in fact, was the rate of increase, that another period of ten years might be expected to bring up the population of the two Provinces to 3,500,000 souls. ‡

437. During the same two periods, from 1841 to 1851, and from 1851 to 1861, the numbers of *immigrants* landed at Quebec were not so great as before, nor did so many of them remain in Canada. By immigration alone, it is thought, the additions to the number of people were not more than at the rate of about five or six thousand a year, § while the arrivals at the port of Quebec, during each period of 10 years, were not less than the quarter of a million. It became a practice with the immigrants to pass on from Canada into the United States. ||

438. The trade and finances of the country, could not be shewn distinctly without going into details too tedious

* Census of 1851—Upper Canada, 952,000.
Lower Canada, 890,000.

† Census of 1861—Upper Canada, 1,396,000.
Lower Canada, 1,111,000.

‡ Expected census of 1871, Upper Canada, (Ontario) 2,100,000.
Lower Canada, (Quebec) 1,400,000.

§ Except, perhaps, after 1860, and during the American civil war, which led more of the immigrants to remain and also brought in many from the United States. In one year, (1865) it is computed that nearly 19,000, more than half of them from the States, came to reside in Canada.

|| The population of the cities of Canada, Montreal, Quebec, Toronto, Hamilton, Kingston and London, increased, of course, with that of the Province generally, as is seen in the following table.

	1851	1861		1851	1861
Montreal...	57,700	90,300	Ottawa....	7,700	14,700
Quebec....	42,000	51,100	Kingston..	11,600	13,700
Toronto.....	30,700	44,80	London....	7,000	11,500
Hamilton ..	14,100	19,100			

for these pages. Yet these are the most necessary matters to be looked into when forming an opinion respecting prosperity and progress, so that some of the results at least must be stated.

About the time of the Union of the two Canadas, the revenues of both did not much exceed a million of dollars. Taking one year with another, the increase of revenue, from 1841, appears to have been at the rate of half a million of dollars, so that by 1861 the total was not far short of *ten millions*. The values of imported goods and of the products of the country exported increased still faster. By 1851, the imports came to 21, and exports to 13 millions. Ten years later, these were about 40 and 36 millions respectively. The improvement thus shewn was great, especially as the value of the exports was approaching nearer to that of imports. The nature of the exported goods also shews what was being done in the Province. They consisted of the various products of agriculture, of the forest, of the waters, animal products, minerals, manufactures, ships, and sundry others. The returns for the year from 1865 to 1866, shew the value of exports about 56 millions of dollars, while that of the imports amounted to 3 millions less. In that year the duties or taxes received on imports gave to the Canadian revenue the considerable sum of 7,330,000 dollars.

From these statements we can form some judgement of the vast growth of the trade and commerce of Canada since 1841.

* 439. But, particulars of another kind must now be mentioned, which tend to dim the brightness of the picture of progress that might be drawn from the foregoing statements alone. From year to year, with very few exceptions, the worth of the *imports* exceeded that of the products exported; in other words, the Province, instead of having money to receive from abroad on account of its timber, grain, fish, minerals, and other products of its industry, had to remit money enough to cover a part of the cost of the merchandise and luxuries supplied by other countries for its use.

Again, the public expenses of the Province almost always exceeded its revenues. To make good the difference between income and expense it became necessary to incur debt.

440. The Province had long been able to provide from its revenues the amounts necessary for the payment of the ordinary expenses of the government. But, after paying those ordinary expenses she had not enough money left to construct or to aid in the public works judged requisite for her present and future wants—such as canals, railways, public buildings, roads and bridges, harbours, light houses, and some other undertakings. Without these works, Canada must have remained behind most other countries; to possess them, she has been obliged to incur a heavy debt, for the repayment of which, as well as the interest, her future revenues are pledged. * The *canals*, and other works for improving the navigation of rivers, were provided at the prodigious cost of about 22 millions of dollars. † But from these there is a good annual income, more

* More than 60 millions of dollars have been expended upon public works in Canada *by the government*, in addition to about double that amount provided by companies and individuals.

Up to a recent date the public debt of Canada has been estimated at \$67,000,000, of which nearly \$5,000,000 concerns Lower Canada (Quebec) alone, as it was incurred in procuring the change of the seigniorial tenure of land.

† Some idea of the extent and value of these public works can be formed when it is stated that since those of the St. Lawrence were completed, ships of 400 tons burden can be navigated all the way between the head of Lake Superior and the ocean, upwards of 2000 miles. The canals themselves are necessary for about 72 miles of that distance. They enable vessels to avoid the rapids and shallow parts of the St. Lawrence. *Tolls* are charged to vessels passing through them, and thus a very large income is raised, especially from the *Welland* canal, between Lakes Ontario and Erie, 28 miles long, the most costly but most profitable of all. Formerly it used to cost upwards of \$1 for conveying a barrel of flour from Toronto to Montreal. Now, through the advantage of canals, the cost is reduced to 18 or 20 cents.

There are other canals besides those of the St. Lawrence—as the *Rideau*, 127 miles long, the *Ottawa* canals, 17 miles, the *St. Ours* and *Chambly*, by which the St. Lawrence is connected with

than enough to pay interest and to gradually pay off the amount laid out. Of the other works, some yield no income—such as public buildings which cost the country five or six millions. * For railways, of which none are public property, the government contributed not less than 20 millions of dollars; for roads and bridges, about 7 millions. †

All these works, though they have been so expensive, and the causes of a heavy public debt, vastly increase the importance of the Province, and, in various ways, minister to the wants and the prosperity of the people.

441. The advancement of Canada in material things,

Lake Champlain. The *Lachine* canal for avoiding the rapids nearest above Montreal is $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles long.

Most of the existing canals of Canada were finished before the end of the year 1850.

ST. LAWRENCE CANALS.

	Miles.	Locks.	Ft.
Gallops Canal,.....	2	2	8.
Point Iroquois Canal,.....	3	1	6
Rapid Platt Canal,.....	4	2	11.6
Farren's Point Canal,.....	$\frac{3}{4}$	1	4.
Cornwall Canal, Long Sault,.....	$11\frac{1}{2}$	7	48.
Beauharnois Canal, Coteau,.....			
Cedars, Split Rock, Cascade Rapids,...	$11\frac{1}{4}$	9	82.6
La Chine Canal, La Chine Rapids,....	$8\frac{1}{2}$	5	44.9
Fall on portions of the St. Lawrence between canals from Lake Ontario to Montreal,.....			17.
From Montreal to tide water at Three Rivers,.....			12.9
	41	27	$234\frac{1}{2}$

* The new Parliament buildings at Ottawa have been reckoned at about \$3,000,000, when completed.

† The railways of Canada, up to a recent date, have cost upwards of 140 millions of dollars, being about 2200 miles in length.

since 1841, has been rapid and continuous. This is shewn by a number of instances. In 1847, railways were fairly begun, for there were upwards of 40 miles finished, and in the same year, the electric telegraph was introduced. By 1849, most of the canals were completed. In 1850 extensive preparations were made for enabling Canada to take a foremost part in the *Exhibition* or *World's Fair* held in London, in 1851. On this occasion, the Province outshone other British colonies in some important particulars, especially in the display of minerals, timber, and some agricultural products. In 1853, the works of the Grand Trunk Railway, and the formation of the Montreal Ocean Steamship Company, marked the dawn of a new era, as respected both inland communication and the rapid, certain, and comfortable conveyance of passengers, as well as letters and freight, between Quebec and Liverpool. * From that time up to the present day there has been a constant increase of the facilities which those great undertakings were designed to promote.

Meanwhile, the Post Office department had become wholly Canadian, postage stamps were introduced, and the charge reduced to 5 cents, throughout the Province.

442. Two important circumstances rendered the year 1860 memorable in the history of Canada—the completion of the *Victoria Bridge*, and the visit of the Prince of Wales, Queen Victoria's eldest son.

That bridge, which now joins the north and south banks of the St. Lawrence at Montreal, had been constructed after the plans of Messrs. Keefer and Ross, and of the celebrated English engineer, Robert Stephenson. It was a truly gigantic undertaking as respected amount of work done, cost, and extraordinary difficulties to be overcome. It surpassed, in fact, every thing of the kind in the world. †

* The first vessels of this Steamboat Company were taken up by the English Government for service in the war with Russia. But regular trips between England and Canada began in 1855. Mails were carried first in 1856.

† The cost was about 12 millions of dollars. The roadway across the river is formed of four vast iron tubes connected

443. The members of the Assembly, in the name of the people of Canada, had resolved to celebrate the opening of the Victoria Bridge to traffic, after a fashion worthy of the occasion. The Speaker of the House, Sir Henry Smith, was despatched to England with an address to the Queen, soliciting Her Majesty to visit her Canadian subjects. The Queen replied that she could not herself respond to the invitation, but that she would send her eldest son, the Prince of Wales, in her stead.

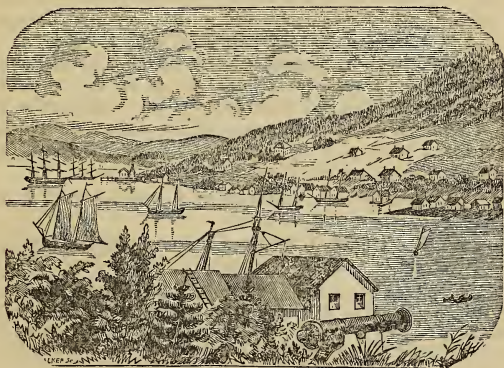
Accordingly, Albert Edward, then in his 19th year, came out to Canada, attended by the British Colonial Secretary, the Duke of Newcastle. The occasion and stated object of his visit was the opening of the Victoria Bridge; but the opportunity was employed to enable him to *make the tour* of the British North American Provinces, including Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward's Island, and Canada, and, afterwards, that of a considerable part of the United States.

The Governor General, attended by his Ministers of State, went down to Gaspé Bay, and there, on Tuesday, August 14th, received the Prince and welcomed him to Canada. On the same day the squadron which had brought him from England, with the other vessels which had, by this time, joined it, proceeded on the voyage up the St. Lawrence.

444. It would fill a volume to recount all the interest-

with each other and supported on 24 stone piers. The tubes required for their construction 8000 tons of iron, and the total quantity of iron used upon the bridge was 10,000 tons. The tubes were made of iron plates, forged and prepared in England, numbered and sent out ready to be riveted together. The total length of roadway, including approaches on both banks is 9,084 feet. Provision was made for allowing vessels to pass up and down the river, between the piers, and also for securing the entire structure against the effects of ice in the season of spring. The joining of the north and south banks of the St. Lawrence, by the Victoria Bridge at Montreal, now enables travellers from the East, starting from Quebec, or Portland in the United States, to pass by railroad to Toronto, Sarnia, Detroit, and Chicago, and thence all the way to New Orleans, in less than one week.

ing incidents of the Prince's visit, from his landing at St. John's Newfoundland, on July 24th, 1860, until the 20th of October following, when he embarked at Portland on his return to England. It was the most wonderful tour ever made, whether we look upon his journey as a *Royal Progress*, or as the excursion of a distinguished travelling party through the principal parts of North America. Its extent was not less than 6000 miles. The Prince's reception by the inhabitants of the Lower Provinces and of



Gaspé Bay.

Canada was precisely such as naturally resulted from the universal loyalty of Her Majesty's North American subjects, and the unbounded joy diffused among them by the presence of the eldest son of a beloved Sovereign.

445. On Saturday, Aug. 25th, the opening of the Victoria Bridge was celebrated in the sight of a great concourse of people. The Prince received and replied to an address presented by the president of the Board of Railroad Directors. A vast platform had been constructed, standing upon which the Prince then performed the ceremony of placing the

last stone which crowns the arch of the grand entrance to the bridge. Proceeding next to the middle of the bridge, he inserted, with his own hand, the last of the million of bolts or rivets by which the plates of the enormous tubes were fastened together.

The ceremonies were concluded by a grand banquet, attended by the Prince and his suite, the Governor General, Directors of the Grand Trunk Company, and 600 guests from all parts of Canada. Among the toasts, on the occasion, was one given by the Prince in the words "To the health of the Governor General, to the prosperity of Canada, and to the success of the Grand Trunk Company."

Not the least interesting of the proceedings was that of receiving and responding to an address of the artificers and labourers who had worked upon the construction of the Victoria Bridge. In course of his answer the Prince expressed his sorrow on account of the recent decease of the great engineer Stephenson. *

Thus fittingly was this wonderful national work inaugurated.

446. The Prince of Wales' subsequent progress through

* The sentiments uttered in the Prince's answer merit particular attention. He said: "I receive with satisfaction this address from the artisans and workmen who by the sweat of the brow, and a severe course of intelligent labour, have aided in raising to the glory of their country this monument, which does no less honour to the hands which have constructed than to the intelligence which devised it. I lament with you the loss of Robert Stephenson. Your regret reminds me that his father, celebrated like himself, belonged to your ranks. England throws open to all her sons the same career. No degree of success is impossible to genius aided by integrity and industry. All cannot, it is true, carry off the highest prize; but all can strive to gain it, and, in this struggle, the victory belongs neither to the rich nor the powerful, but to him to whom God has given genius and who cultivates in his heart the qualities which constitute greatness. I congratulate you on the success of your work. I have the liveliest hope it will prosper, and I desire, with all my heart, for you who have so well executed this great enterprise, and for your families, all the happiness you can wish for."

The workmen were very much moved by these striking words.

Upper Canada and the United States was attended with circumstances of the most striking character. There was every where the most lavish display of joy and enthusiasm.

In the United States, many of the principal cities were visited. His progress from first to last was one continued ovation. Indeed, the citizens of the great republic may be said to have placed her Majesty's subjects under a heavy obligation by the manner in which they treated the hope and future king of England, who was also the great grandson of king George III. against whom their fathers had rebelled †

447. In the year following the Prince of Wales' visit preparations were made, on an extended scale, for enabling Canada to take part in the International Exhibition of London. She had, as already mentioned, distinguished herself on a previous occasion, in 1851, and also in 1855, at Paris.

The International Exhibition of London in 1862, afforded the nations of the world the greatest and best opportunity they had ever enjoyed of comparing themselves with each other in regard to the possession of natural resources, as well their progress in modes of turning those resources to account. It enabled them, to note, each for its own future advantage, the advancement made in all the various Arts of life, in science, skill, and manufactures—the condition, in short, of the principal families of man-

* The Prince visited the following cities in the United States : *Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Pittsburg, Harrisburg, Baltimore, Washington, Richmond, Philadelphia, New York, Albany, Boston, and Portland*—besides a number of well known localities, as *Mount Vernon, West-Point, &c.* The vast populations of those places and their neighbourhoods welcomed the royal party with demonstrations of the utmost kindness and respect, Banquets, balls, and other public mode of display, greeted them. An incident occurred at Philadelphia which merits particular notice. An immense assemblage in the principal theatre rose on the Prince's entrance, and, when, presently, the band played "*God save the Queen*," again rose, and stood, until that English national anthem was finished. The Prince and his suite were very much moved by this unlooked for and delicate mark of attention.

kind, in regard to all those things upon which happiness and civilization depend.

Canada again contributed to the wonderful display of products of the forest, the soil, the waters, and of human skill, and, again, as in 1851 and 1855, by means of her minerals, timber, and agricultural riches, stood foremost among the colonies of Great Britain. *

448. The *material* progress of Canada since 1841, having now been described as fully as is suitable to the purposes of this book, it is necessary to notice marks of advancement of another kind.

Before 1841, the inhabitants of the country towns, villages, and settlements, had not the power of uniting for the furtherance of *local* objects—roads, bridges, and various improvements. Individuals might attend to the improvement of their private property as much as they pleased. But in regard to matters concerning the general benefit, people were obliged to have recourse to the Legislature for the power to act. It is plain that, under such a system, not only would important local improvements be often left neglected, but also the business of the Legislature was made to include a great many affairs in which the people of the Province at large felt little or no concern.

To put an end to this, the *Municipal system* was introduced. This consists in the management of their local affairs by the people themselves. *Councils* are formed in every city, town, township, and county, ‡ the inhabitants

* The Prince Albert, the consort of Her Majesty, took a leading part in the preparations for the International Exhibition of 1862. But, a few months before its opening, he was removed by death. This event was universally deplored. It happened in December 1861. Shortly before, great excitement was occasioned in Great Britain and Canada through the forcible seizure of *Mason* and *Slidell*, passengers on board the *Trent*, an English mail steamer, by *Wilkes*, an American Commodore. This nearly caused a war between England and the United States.

‡ A county council is composed of the heads (*Reeves* in Upper Canada, *Mayors* in Lower Canada) of the municipalities of the county.

A county council is a sort of general or larger municipal council for all the inhabitants of the county.

electing a certain number of members to represent them. *Seven* is the number of members of township and village municipalities. The Municipal Councils have power, by Law, to levy taxes for all local purposes, and to expend the money for the benefit of the municipalities. They can borrow money on the credit of the property of the inhabitants, and they can deal with local matters too numerous and various to be specified here—including however the care of highways and bridges, licences, markets, and maintenance of jails.

Upper Canada took the lead in carrying out the municipal system. At various times, as in 1841, 1847, 1849, 1855, the Legislature passed laws on the subject and the system became gradually and thoroughly established, first in Upper, and then in Lower Canada. †

449. The next important feature of progress is the system of Public Education.

Although, in the beginning of the century, the then eight districts of Upper Canada had, in each, a public Grammar School, the plan of Common Schools, for the advantage of the people at large, was not begun until 1816. Then, 30 years more elapsed before the system was brought into what could be called good working order.

By this time the Legislature had frequently and usefully concerned itself. A *Superintendent of Schools* and a *Council of Public Instruction* had been appointed for that section of the Province. By these authorities, in the course of ensuing years, numerous *Grammar Schools*, and upwards of 4000 Primary, or *Common Schools*, have been established.

† By 1865, including the great *municipal corporations* of the cities and larger towns, Upper Canada had; in the different counties, nearly 300,000 rate-payers whose property was *assessed* or rated at nearly 233 millions of dollars; Lower Canada 200,000 rate-payers assessed at 160 millions.

To raise money at moderate rates of interest for municipal purposes, the Provincial Government pledged its own credit, the municipalities undertaking to pay interest and principal. Thus a large debt was created, called the *Municipal Loan Fund*.

In 1847, the important step was taken of founding, for Upper Canada, a *Normal School*, for the purpose of providing in future a supply of trained and qualified instructors. *

Mention must also be made of the higher institutions. These consist of 4 universities, and 12 colleges, and collegiate seminaries. †

In Lower Canada, an attempt to establish a public system of education was made in the commencement of the century, under the care of a body called the "*Royal Institution*." But very small progress was made, until the common school system was introduced in 1841. In that and succeeding years, more particularly in 1845, 1846, 1849, 1851, 1855 and 1856, various new laws, and amendments of the old ones, were passed by the Legislature, for the purpose of promoting the object. ‡ In 1857,

* Female Education in Upper Canada was promoted by the establishment of girls' academies in the cities and principal towns. The teaching of religion, according to the principles of any particular religious denomination, being otherwise provided for, is disconnected from the daily routine of the public schools. The law, however, permits the members of the Roman Catholic Church to establish *Separate Schools*.

† The advance of Education in Upper Canada is seen in the following Table :

	in 1851	1856	1861
Institutions of all kinds ..	3,240	3,815	4,460
Pupils	175,900	262,900	344,100
Population	950,500		1,396,000

‡ At first, the Hon. Mr. Jamieson was named Superintendent of Education for all Canada, with the Rev. Mr. Murray and Dr. Meilleur for the Provinces respectively. Subsequently, Dr. Ryerson for Upper Canada, and Dr. Meilleur for Lower Canada came into office, the former of whom, established, in his section, the present system which has been greatly commended. The latter, Dr. Meilleur, at a time when it was far more difficult than at present to procure correct statistics, made inquiries personally throughout the country. The results enabled him to found a system which led to that now existing. Upon his recommendation the required legislation was begun, and to some extent carried out, for the proper division of the country into *School municipalities* and *districts of inspection*, for the establishing of *Normal Schools*, and

Normal Schools and a Journal of Education, as well as a council of Public Instruction, and a system of supervision of schools by means of Inspectors, were established. It was found more difficult, and a work of longer time, to make arrangements for public education in Lower than in Upper Canada. But by degrees those now existing were brought about. †

For school purposes the inhabited parts of Lower Canada were divided into *School-Municipalities*. These are sometimes entire townships, and are subdivided into *School-Districts*, as required by the inhabitants. Whenever those of a different religious faith from that of the majority desire it, *Dissentient School Municipalities* are formed, to answer the same purposes as the Separate School system of Upper Canada. The *rate-payers*, or owners of property in each municipality elect persons to manage

various other provisions which have since regulated the educational affairs of the Province. He retired in 1856, and was succeeded by the Hon. Mr. Chauveau, under whom the system now (1869) existing was established.

‡ Before the beginning of this century, education for boys could be had only at Quebec and Montreal—namely at the Jesuits' College, Quebec, founded in 1632, the Quebec Seminary, 1663, and the Seminary of Montreal, 1773. There was, afterwards, Nicolet College in 1804, St. Hyacinthe College in 1811, and, later, a few others before the introduction of Common Schools.

What opportunities the inhabitants had for educating girls will be seen from the following list of places where schools were established :

Quebec (Ursulines).....	1640	Pt. aux Trembles (Québec)	1713
Ste. Famille.....	1685	Lake of Two Mountains...	1720
Pt. aux Trembles (Mont.)..	1690	General Hospital (Quebec)	1725
Three Rivers (Ursulines)..	1697	St. Francis.....	1763
Boucherville.....	1703	St. Denis.....	1783
La Prairie.....	1705	Pt. Claire.....	1784

Among the earliest of the modern Protestant Schools, were, the High School of Quebec in 1843, and Bishop's College School, 1845, and, later, the High School of Montreal, and St. Francis College, Richmond.

The two Protestant Universities, McGill College and Bishop's College, were founded in 1827 and 1843, respectively. Morin College, Quebec, affiliated to McGill, was founded in 1850.

their school affairs, and thus are formed the Boards of *School Commissioners* and *School Trustees*. *

We shall close this subject by stating, that, during the fifteen years ending in 1867, about 1400 Institutions, 100,000 pupils, and more than half a million of dollars added to the money contributions, shew the *increase* of public Education in Lower Canada. †

450. The examples which have been given in this chapter are sufficient to shew that the country made prodigious general progress under the constitution of 1841, in spite of the difficulties experienced in conducting the public affairs. In fact, but for those difficulties, a prosperous future might have been confidently expected, founded upon the satisfactory state of all the leading interests concerned in a country's welfare—population, revenue, trade and commerce, public works, roads and railways, municipal institutions and education. The list of examples might have been extended, and to see this the reader can refer to the Table of Chronology given at the end of this book.

CHAPTER FOURTH.

LAST DAYS OF THE CONSTITUTION OF 1841—EARLY PROPOSALS OF A *Confederation* OF THE BRITISH AMERICAN PROVINCES—QUEBEC CONFERENCE—THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT CONFERS A NEW CONSTITUTION ON CANADA—CONSTITUTION OF THE "DOMINION."

451. We have now reached that stage of the history of Canada which brings the narrative up to the present day. As we have seen, the constitution of 1841 was so framed that it could not outlive the experience of 15 years without

* Three persons chosen by the *Dissentients* make up a Board of *School-Trustees*—Each Board of *School-Commissioners* consists of five elected members.

	in 1853	1867
† Number of Institutions...	2,300....	3,712
Number of Pupils.....	108,000....	208,000
Contributions.....	\$160,000....	\$725,000

some changes. † In the course of a few more years circumstances shewed that still further change was needed.* At length, in 1864 and 1865, the principal men of the country arrived at the conclusion that it was necessary, for the good of Canada, that the constitution of 1841 should be brought to an end, and another established in its stead.

452. But the proposal for an *Union of all the British American Provinces* was not altogether new † when it was taken up in earnest, and dealt with, in 1865. In the course of many previous years, and by many eminent public men, the subject had been brought under notice. It was not, however, till 1857 that it was placed before the Legislature and people of Canada in a way to excite general attention and interest. This was first done by the representative of the town of Sherbrooke, § the capital of the Eastern Townships. At that time the Executive Council or Cabinet was composed of a number of men noted for their public spirit, patriotism, and elevated views—a for-

† The change of the number of members of the Assembly, in 1853, when there came to be 130 instead of 84 representatives, and that of 1856, when, in place of the naming of Legislative Councillors by the Crown, their election by the people was introduced.

* The circumstances here alluded to are those described in the preceding articles, No. 431 and No. 434.

† Amongst the earliest advocates of an union of all the Provinces, were, chief Justice Sewell in 1814, Bishop Strachan, Hon. Mr. Uniacke, of Nova Scotia; also the Earl of Durham, in 1838. In August, 1838, Lieutenant Governors, Sir John Harvey, Sir Colin Campbell and Sir Charles Fitzroy of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Isle, came to Quebec to confer with Earl Durham on the subject of Confederation of the British American Provinces.

§ The Honorable *Alexander T. Galt*, subsequently the Minister of Finance, now *Sir Alexander Galt*—for, while these sheets are passing through the press the numerous friends of this eminent public man, as well as the English speaking people of Lower Canada generally, are gratified at the mark of Royal favour, bestowed upon him and themselves, in conferring a title upon him.

tunate circumstance, since, had it been otherwise, the prospects of Canada for many subsequent years might have been clouded with continued uncertainty and misfortune.

However, so much success attended the efforts of Mr. Galt, to bring the scheme of Confederation into public notice, that, in the following year, he was admitted into the Cabinet on purpose to further its adoption. The Lower Provinces, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Prince Edward's Island, and New Brunswick, were communicated with on the subject. Three delegates, Messrs. Cartier, Galt and



SIR A. T. GALT.

Ross, went to England in the end of 1858 to lay it before the authorities there. The project was warmly supported by the Governor General, Sir Edmund Head.

At the same time, together with the Union of the Provinces, the scheme of a railway was proposed, in order that the people of the territories about to be united under one government might possess convenient means of communication with each other, and with the ocean, at all seasons, and on their own soil. *

* This was the Intercolonial railway, proposed to be made between Halifax and Quebec. The proposal was not a new one.

453. Six years elapsed before these vast projects were seriously taken up by all the parties concerned. The government and people of Great Britain were willing that the colonists should combine, or remain isolated in the several Provinces, as they might deem best for themselves. There was also willingness to lend the credit of the empire towards the raising of funds for building the Intercolonial railroad. But various obstacles prevented the earlier accomplishment of the ends in view.

454. As the maritime, or Lower Provinces, had proposed amongst themselves to form an union, even if the scheme of confederation should fail to be carried out, it was an object for Canada to induce them to prefer the greater project to the smaller. Accordingly a conference took place at Charlottetown, which was attended by delegates from Canada and the Lower Provinces. The result was, a declaration, that, "the best interests, and present and future prosperity of British North America, will be promoted by a Federal Union under the Crown of Great Britain, provided such Union can be effected on principles just to the several Provinces." *

454. But, before the objects aimed at could be accomplished, it was necessary for the several Provinces to agree upon the particular terms on which an union was possible and expedient. To settle these, another conference was held at Quebec, where, on October 10th, 1864, delegates repre-

Earl Durham had commended it to attention in 1838. In 1849 and 1852, the Legislature of Canada had passed Acts in favour of such a project.

* The last part of this resolution referred to various considerations—such as the wealth, trade, population, resources, debts, &c. of the Provinces in comparison with each other. All such matters had to be taken into account in a way to prevent any one of the Provinces from suffering by an Union with the others.

In proportion to the population, Nova Scotia had the greatest revenue, Canada and New Brunswick the greatest debts. The expenditure of Canada, New Brunswick, and Newfoundland, were greater in proportion, than that of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. There were, in fact, many different interests to be reconciled.

sending the five Colonies assembled. † Seventy two resolutions were adopted, embracing the conditions, but were not made public at the time. They were to be submitted to the Legislatures of the several Provinces. On being accepted by them, it was left for the Parliament of England to decide finally.

455. The Parliament of Canada deliberated upon the resolutions of the Quebec conference during February and part of March, 1865. The narrative of the "Debates on Confederation" fills a thick volume of more than 1000 pages. The great majority of the members of both Houses spoke in course of the debates—some at great length. As the subject of discussion was, in its nature, the most important that had ever come before a Legislature in British America, so the speeches of members in both Houses have never, since Canada has enjoyed a constitution of her own, been surpassed in the qualities of eloquence, good sense, and genuine patriotism. The main proposal, that is the desirability of uniting the Provinces to the fullest extent permitted by circumstances, was opposed by none. The fable of the bundle of sticks, as shewing the strength that may be secured by the union of parts, weak in themselves, seemed to be present to the minds of all, throughout the debates. Yet, as to details, there were differences of opinion expressed. On certain points, upwards of one fourth of the members voted against the majority. Upon the whole, however, that session—the third of the eighth Parliament of United Canada, was a most remarkable one for the general spirit of concord displayed.

The debates on Confederation, which began on Friday, February 3rd, 1865, were concluded on Monday, the 13th of the following month. On that last day, the Hon. J. A. McDonald introduced in the House of Assembly the *motion* which implied the carrying of the great measure before it—namely "that a committee* be appointed to

† The five Colonies represented were, United Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island.

* Messrs. J. A. McDonald, Cartier, Galt, Brown, Robitaille and Haultain.

draft an address to Her Majesty on the subject of the union of the colonies of British North America." Before this could be voted on by the House, four other motions were proposed for decision. The first of these, by the Hon. Mr. Cameron, if carried, would have postponed the address to the Queen until after a new election of members by the people, and a renewal of the debates now approaching to a close. But Mr. Cameron's motion was lost, since 35 members voted in favour of, and 84 against it. The next, by the Hon. Mr. Holton, proposed that confederation, if granted by England, should not take effect until the people and



SIR G. E. CARTIER.

Legislature of Canada should have an opportunity of considering all its details. It was voted for by 31, and against by 79 members.

The remaining two motions, alluded to above, related to the future management of Education in Canada.

These few instances will give the reader a fair idea of the sort of opposition offered to the scheme of Confederation when it came for decision before the Canadian Legislature. Not the grand object aimed at, but the manner of bringing it about, the absence of a full knowledge of the details, and a desire to preserve, at any rate, the rights of

the people in both sections of Canada, were the sole grounds of dispute.

The address to the Queen was then voted by the House of Assembly, which, headed by the Speaker, waited upon the Governor General, on the following day, with a request that he would cause it to be presented to Her Majesty. This happened on March 14th, 1865.

456. Subsequently, the scheme of Confederation was deliberated upon in the other Provincial Legislatures. Those of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick accepted it. Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island declined, for the present, uniting their fortunes with those of Canada.

457. A session of the Legislature—the last of United Canada—was held in 1866. An important measure was introduced relative to Education. Its object was to settle, before Confederation should take place, certain questions which had been raised on the subject of the rights of Protestants in Lower Canada.*

In the following autumn delegates from the British American Provinces went to England in order to render such assistance as might be required by the English ministers in framing an Act of Parliament respecting Confederation.

458. In February 1867, the English Government submitted to Parliament a Bill, having the title "An Act for the Union of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and the government thereof, and for purposes connected therewith," called, more briefly "The British North America Act, 1867."† It conferred the constitution under which we now live, as well as the name "*Dominion of*

* This measure has been styled "*Langevin's Bill*" as it was promoted by the Hon. Mr. Langevin. Its failure was a last instance of the process by which a majority of members belonging to one section of United Canada, supported by a minority from the other section, used to prevent the passing of Bills intended for the good of either.

† It received the Queen's sanction March 29th, 1867, and came into force on July 1st following.

Canada," upon the Provinces already united, and such others as may choose hereafter to enter the Union.

Another Act, "The Canada Railway Loan Act, 1867" provided for the raising of funds with which to construct the Intercolonial Railway.

459. As it is necessary that we should all possess some knowledge of the constitution of our country, a short outline of it is given in an Appendix to this book.



THE END.



APPENDIX

I.

OUTLINE OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE DOMINION OF CANADA.

omit (1) The Queen is the supreme authority, represented by the Governor General appointed by Her, who is advised and aided by a Council called the *Queen's Privy Council for Canada*. The Queen may allow the Governor General to appoint Deputies in any parts of the Dominion.

(2) The *Parliament of Canada*, consists of the Queen (represented by the Governor General), a *Senate* of 72 members, and a *House of Common* of 181 members.

The Senators are appointed for life by the Crown—24 for Ontario, 24 for Quebec, 12 for Nova Scotia, 12 for New Brunswick. There may be hereafter 78 senators and no more.

The members of the House of Commons are elected by the people—82 for Ontario, 65 for Quebec, 19 for Nova Scotia, 15 for New Brunswick.

Quebec is always to have the fixed number of 65 members; but the other three Provinces, although at present

NOTE.—The Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, having expressed their desire to be united under one government, with a constitution like that of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Queen, Lords, and Commons, consented, and conferred a new name—*Dominion of Canada*—upon the united Provinces, with a constitution of which the outline is here given. Also, the name of Upper Canada was changed to *Ontario*, and Lower Canada to *Quebec*—so that, at present the Dominion includes the four Provinces, Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick. Other British North American Provinces may hereafter join and form parts of the Dominion.

they have 82, 19, and 15 members, respectively, may hereafter have a greater or less number, according as their populations increase or diminish in proportion to that of Quebec.

The regulation of the numbers of representatives for the Provinces is to be made after the taking of the census in 1871, and every following 10 years.

(3) The Senate and the House of Commons are summoned to meet by the Governor General in the Queen's name, once at least in every year. The Speakers, of whom the Commons elect their own, preside. The Speaker of the Senate is appointed by the Governor General. The powers and privileges of the senators and members of the House of Commons are to be fixed by the Parliament of Canada, but may not exceed those enjoyed by members of the British Parliament.

Questions in each House to be decided by majority of votes. When the votes are equal in number, the Speaker of the Commons may vote, but not otherwise. The Speaker of the Senate has a vote, but no *casting* vote.

(4) The House of Commons may be dissolved by the Governor General, and then a new election of members takes place ; but the same House cannot exist longer than 5 years.

(5) Bills relating to money or taxes must originate in the House of Commons ; but the Commons cannot vote money for any purpose unless recommended by message of the Governor General.

(6) A Bill to become law must pass both Houses and then be assented to by the Governor General in the Queen's name ; but any Bill may, within two years, be afterwards *vetoed* by Her Majesty ; also, a copy of every Bill assented to must be transmitted to the Queen, so that she may, if she sees fit, veto the same, within two years.

The Governor may refuse, in the Queen's name, to assent to any Bill, or he may reserve any Bill, until Her Majesty's will on the subject is signified.

(7) The Parliament of the Dominion has authority over all matters relating to the peace, order, and good government of Canada, which may not be expressly placed under the control of the local authorities of the several Provinces.

The particular matters under the control of the Dominion Parliament are set forth in 29 articles or sub-sections. They are of a nature to concern the whole people—such as the Public Debt and Property, Trade and Commerce, Post-Office Service, Census, Militia and defence of the Country, Navigation, Currency and Coinage, Criminal Law and Procedure, Penitentiaries, Sea-Coast and Inland Fisheries, and several other subjects.

(8) In each of the Provinces, or parts composing the Dominion, there is a Legislature, which must meet once at least in every year.

In Ontario, the Legislature consists of a Lieutenant Governor, appointed by the Governor General, and a Legislative Assembly, composed of 82 members, elected by the people of that Province.

In Quebec, the Legislature consists of a Lieutenant Governor, appointed by the Governor General, and of two Houses, called the Legislative Council of Quebec, and the Legislative Assembly of Quebec. The Legislative Council is composed of 24 members appointed for life by the Lieutenant Governor, in the Queen's name. The Legislative Assembly is composed of 65 members elected by the people. The Speaker of the Legislative Council is appointed by the Lieutenant Governor. The Legislative Assembly of Quebec, as well as that of Ontario, elects its own Speaker.

The Legislatures of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick continue as heretofore, until altered according to the Act of British North America.

(9) The procedure in the Legislature of the several Provinces, with respect to money Bills, granting and withholding the Royal assent to Bills, modes of electing Speakers, and of deciding questions by votes, is substantially the same as in the Dominion Parliament.

(10) The existence of each Provincial House of Assem-

bly may continue 4 years, after which a new election of members takes place. But the Lieutenant Governor may dissolve the House, and thus cause a new election before the end of the term of 4 years.

(11) The Provincial Legislatures have power to deal exclusively with matters of a local or private nature in the Provinces, or such as affect the interests of the Provinces apart from the general interests of the Dominion. These matters are specified under different heads, such as the following : amendments in the constitution of the Provinces, not affecting Dominion interests ; money affairs and taxation concerning objects within the Provinces ; prisons, hospitals, and asylums ; local public works ; property and civil rights within the Provinces ; administration of justice ; education.

(12) In regard to Education, an appeal may, in certain cases, be made to the Governor General, and the authority of the Parliament of the Dominion may be exercised in order to supply what is wanting in Provincial Legislation.

(13) The promotion of Agriculture and Immigration belongs to the Legislature of each Province as well as the Parliament of the Dominion.

(14) Judges are appointed by the Governor General—but must be selected, for any Province, from the bar of that Province ; the Dominion Parliament fixes and provides the salaries of the judges.

(15) The Dominion Government takes the public revenues, and also the debts of the Provinces, as they stood at the date of the confederation ; but it pays to the Provinces certain fixed sums yearly, to enable them to support their governments, and to place the burden of the whole public debt and its interest, in equitable shares, upon the people of the several Provinces.

NOTE.—It is impossible within a small compass, to express clearly the mode in which the money affairs of the Provinces were arranged, so as to be just to all. The plan followed has been pronounced highly ingenious.

(16) *Either* the English or the French language may be used in debates in the Parliament of the Dominion ; and, in the Quebec Legislature, *both* languages must be used in the records and journals, and in the printed Acts.

(17) Other sections, from No. 134 to No. 147, fix the number and quality of the principal public officers, and provide for proclamations, a penitentiary, division of the common debt and property of Ontario and Quebec, the Intercolonial Railway, and the admission of other colonies into the Dominion.

Schedules, annexed to the Act, prescribe the districts and divisions for which members of Legislatures may be elected, and define some other necessary matters.

NOTE.—The constitution granted by the "*British North America Act, 1867*" came into force on July 1st, 1867. Viscount Monck, the last Governor General of United Canada became the first of the Dominion. Sir Narcisse Belleau was named Lieutenant Governor of Quebec, and others were appointed, temporarily, for Ontario, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

The Local Governments were at once constituted, with their head quarters at Toronto, Quebec, Halifax, and Fredericton. The city of Ottawa became the seat of Government of the Dominion.

APPENDIX

II.

TABLE OF CHRONOLOGY FOR THE HISTORY OF CANADA.

A. D.

- 1492—Christopher Columbus.—West Indies.
1497—The Cabots.—Newfoundland.—Labrador.
1517—Cod Fisheries off Newfoundland.—Fifty European fishing vessels engaged in.
1521—Spaniards under Cortez in Mexico.
1523—Verrazani.—New France.
1532—Spaniards under Pizarro in Peru.—Spaniards in South America, Buenos-Ayres and Chili.—Portuguese in Brazil.
1534—May to July.—*Jacques Cartier*.—Newfoundland, Straits of Belle Isle, Bay Chaleurs, July 2nd.
1535—Jacques Cartier's Second Voyage.—Stadacona, Hochelaga.
1535-1536—Jacques Cartier winters in Canada.
1541—Jacques Cartier's Third Voyage.—Second winter passed in Canada.
1542-1549—M. de Roberval, Vice-Roy.
1598—M. de la Roche.—Sable Island.
1605-1606—Samuel de Champlain.—Pontgravé.—De Monts.—Port Royal in Acadia.
1606—Poutrincourt and Lescarbot at Port Royal.
1608—July 3rd.—*Quebec founded by Champlain*.
1609-1610—Champlain joins Hurons against the Iroquois.—Visits Hochelaga.—Death of Henry IV of France.
1613—Port Royal settlement destroyed.
1615—Recollets brought out.—Religious services at Quebec and Three Rivers.—Champlain among the Hurons.—Lakes Ontario, Simcoe, Huron.
1617—Invasion by the Iroquois.
1620—Recollet Monastery and chapel on the River St. Charles.—Madame Champlain at Quebec.—Champlain Lieut.-Gen. in New France.
1621—May.—Registers opened at Quebec.—Iroquois incursions.—Repeated next year.
1623-1624—Fort St. Louis founded.—Huron missions served by the Recollets.—Departure of Madame de Champlain.

- 1625—Arrival of Jesuit Fathers—Lalemant, Brebœuf, Massé.—
Jesuits build their first place on the St. Charles River.
- 1626—Fort St. Louis enlarged.—Death of the first colonist, Louis Hébert.
- 1627—Richelieu's Company of 100 Associates.—Champlain first Governor.—Feudal system begun in New France.
- 1628—Admiral Kirk at Tadoussac—Summons Quebec—Captures fleet with provisions for the colony.
- 1629—Champlain and Pontgravé surrender Quebec to the English.—Taken to England.
- 1632—Quebec restored to France by treaty.
- 1633–1635—Champlain, with 200 persons, returns to Quebec.—Ruins of place repaired.—Chapel built in Lower Town.—Three Rivers colonized.—Jesuits' College of Quebec planned.—Death of Champlain, 25 December 1635.
- 1635–1636—M. de Chateaufort.—M. de Montmagny, Governor.—Arrival of immigrants.
- 1637—Small Pox among the Indians.—M. Sillery provides for establishment for converted Hurons.—Jesuits' College founded at Quebec.—Hotel-Dieu founded.
- 1639—Earthquakes.—Madame de la Peltrie and Marie Guyart (de l'Incarnation) found the Ursuline Convent at Quebec.—Arrival of nuns for the Hotel Dieu.
- 1640—"Company of Montreal" formed at Paris.—Fire at Quebec.—Iroquois threaten to destroy the colony.—Brebœuf visits the south shore of Lake Erie.
- 1641—Arrival of M. de Maisonneuve with settlers.
- 1642—Fort Richelieu built by Montmagny to check the Iroquois.—Island of Montreal first settled by M. de Maisonneuve.—Ville Marie (Montreal) founded 18th May, 1642.—Hotel Dieu founded at Ville Marie by Mance.
- 1643—Arrival of M. d'Aillebout at Montreal.—Fort built.
- 1644—30 March.—Battle with Iroquois at Ville Marie, Maisonneuve defeats them on the "*Place d'Armes*."—Madame de Bullion and Anne of Austria provide for Hotel Dieu, also send settlers and soldiers for the Island of Montreal.
- 1645–1648—Iroquois atrocities.—Missionaries massacred.—Assistance sought from France.—In 1647 Father de Quesne ascended the Saguenay and discovered Lake St. John.—Pere Drouillettes passes by Chaudière and Kennebec rivers to the sea.
- 1649—Iroquois attack and destroy the Huron nation.—Dispersion of the Hurons—Atrocities.—Terrible execution of Brebœuf and Lalemant, March 16th.
- 1650–1653—Four years of distress and carnage.—Iroquois cruelties.—Ursuline Convent at Quebec burnt (1651).—D'Aillebout Governor.—Marguerite Bourgeois founds Congre-

- gation of N. Dame.—Remains of Hurons take refuge at Quebec.—Expedition to Hudson Bay, in 1651 from Canada.
- 1654–1657—De Lauzon Governor.—Continued attacks of the Iroquois.—Abbé de Queylus and other Sulpician priests arrived at Ville Marie.
- 1657—Seminary at Montreal founded by de Queylus.
- 1659—Arrival of M. de Laval afterwards 1st Bishop of Quebec.—D'Argenson Governor.
- 1660—Country overrun by Iroquois.—Heroism of Dollard.—The Iroquois relinquish their designs.—Father Le Moine sent to make peace.—Lake Superior reached by father Mesnard.
- 1661–1663—Deplorable state of the Colony.—Dissensions between Governor and Laval.—D'Avaugour, Governor.—Disputes about the liquor traffic.—Expedition to Hudson Bay from Canada.
- 1663—A noted year in New France.—Earthquakes and other uncommon occurrences.—Company of Associates dissolved.—Royal Government established, Sept. 15.—Laval returns in company with the new Governor de Mesy and 500 persons.—*The Sovereign Council* established at Quebec.—Seminary of Quebec founded.
- 1664—Iroquois atrocities continued.—At Ville Marie people unable to go outside their habitations.—Dissensions at Quebec.—Seigneuries granted to various seigneurs.—“Company of West Indies.”
- 1665—Arrival of the *Carignan regiment* and M. de Tracy, Vice-Roy.—M. de Courcelle, Governor.—Forts Sorel, Chambly and Ste. Therese built on the R. Richelieu.—M. Talon, Royal Intendant.—Horses introduced.—Father Allouez coasts round Lake Superior and forms a mission at Bay Chegoimegen.
- 1666—Courcelle's expedition against the Iroquois (Jan.)—De Tracy's expedition and chastisement of the Iroquois (Oct. and November.)—Iroquois sue for peace.—Parish Church at Quebec consecrated.—Great fire and plague in London.—Eng. colonies subscribe for relief of sufferers.—One church in Charleston gives £105 sterling.
- 1666–1669—Hudson Bay (Eng.) Company formed.—Feudal system introduced in N. France.—Active measures for settling the country.—Great increase in number of inhabitants.—Arrival of persons of both sexes belonging to good families in France.—Also many workmen, soldiers, and wives for the colonists.—La Salle's explorations and journies.—Father Marquette forms mission at Michillimackinack.—Allouez among the Illinois hears of the Mississippi.

- 1670—Return of the Recollets after 40 years exclusion.
- 1671—Expedition from Canada to Hudson Bay.
- 1672—Frontenac, Governor.—Cataracoui established as a fortified post on site chosen by his predecessor.—Parish Church built of Stone in Montreal.
- 1673—June 15th—Discovery of the Mississippi by Joliet and Marquette.—Indian *Lorette* founded.
- 1674—Iroquois established at Sault St. Louis (Caughnawaga).—M. Laval, Bishop of Quebec.
- 1675—Bonsecours stone church built in Montreal.
- 1676—Peace with the Iroquois for a season.—Public markets opened at Quebec.—Dissensions caused by the liquor traffic.
- 1677—Ursuline convent at Three Rivers.
- 1678–1680—Mississippi explored by La Salle, de Tonti and Hennepin.—Mouth of Mississippi reached, April, 1682.—Country along the bank named Louisiana after Louis XIV.
- 1682—Frontenac and Intendant recalled.—M. de la Barre, Gov.
- 1683—Negotiations with the Iroquois.—Dungan, Earl of Limerick, Governor of New York.—De la Barre deceived by the subtle Iroquois.
- 1684—De Denonville, Governor.—Disputes between the French and English colonies about the Iroquois.—Indian chiefs seized and sent to the galleys of the King of France.
- 1685–1689—War with the Iroquois.—Exploits of d'Iberville.—Fort Niagara built by de Denonville.—Ursuline Convent burnt, 1686.—New England colonies make war in Canada.—Massacre of Lachine, August, 1689.—Colony seems lost.—return of Frontenac.
- 1690—Frontenac sends three war parties against English colonies in the winter of 1689–90.—Massacres in New York (Schenectady) and New Hampshire.—Expedition to Casco Bay successful.—Invasion of Canada by sea and land.—Siege of Quebec by Admiral Phipps.—English repulsed.—Medal struck, and Church in Lower Town built in honor of the victory.
- 1691—Hostilities with the Iroquois and the English colonies continued.—Canada again invaded.—pestilence and scarcity.
- 1692–1694—Hostilities continued.—Abenakis commit atrocities in English settlements.—Fort Cataracoui rebuilt.—D'Iberville at Hudson Bay.
- 1695—Warfare with western savages.
- 1696—July.—Frontenac starts from Isle Perrot with 2000 men against the Iroquois.—Expedition into the Iroquois Cantons.
- 1697—Treaty of peace between France and England.
- 1698—November 28th, death of Frontenac at Quebec.

- 1699.—Colonization of Louisiana near mouths of Mississippi.
- 1700–1701—Great conferences at Montreal with the Indians.—De Callière, Governor.—General peace with the Indians, July 1701.—Death of Joliet on Anticosti.
- 1703—War between England and France.—Death of Callière at Quebec, 26th May.—Succeeded by M. de Vaudreuil.
- 1704–1708 — English attack Acadia.—Leave to manufacture granted to inhabitants of Canada.—Death of d'Iberville, 1705.—Death of Laval, 1708.—Active warfare between English colonists and Canada.—Colonization of Cap-Breton.
- 1709–1711—Invasion of Canada by way of Champlain.—Acadia taken by the English.—Sir Hovenden Walker's naval force destroyed by storms and shipwreck, 3,000 men perished, August.—New England contributes £40,000 towards the war, 1711.
- 1712–1713—Peace between France and England.—Great fire at Quebec.—Intendant's palace burnt.—Intendant Bégon establishes stages between Quebec and Montreal, 1713.—Nova Scotia and Newfoundland formally ceded to Great Britain.
- 1713–1723—Commerce and agriculture improve.—Ships built at Quebec.—Fortified stations between Canada and Louisiana.—New Orleans founded, 1717.—*Ginseng* discovered by Lafiteau, 1717.—82 villages along St. Lawrence established as parishes.—Schools.—Great fire at Montreal, 100 houses burnt.—Population of Quebec, 7,000, of Montreal 3,000, of Canada 26,000.
- 1723–1724—Incursions of Abenakis into English colonies.
- 1725—Vaudreuil, Governor since 1703.—His death, October 10th, 1725.—Fort Niagara rebuilt.
- 1726—M. Beauharnois, Governor.
- 1727–1733—Warfare with western savages.—De Ligneris.—De Mornay, 3rd Bishop of Quebec, succeeds de St. Valier 2nd Bishop, 1728.—M. Dosquet succeeds Mornay, 1733.—Fort St. Frederick (Fort Crown Point on Lake Champlain) erected by Beauharnois.—Commerce increases.—Many ships launched at Quebec.
- 1733–1735.—Small Pox everywhere.—Deficient harvests.—Incursions of western savages.—Roads improved.—Lumber, Turpentine, Tar, exported.
- 1736—Unsuccessful expedition against western savages.—First Forge established at St. Maurice.
- 1737—Grey Nuns at Montreal under Madame Youville established.
- 1739—Great expedition, 1,200 Europeans and 2,000 Indians, against western Indians.—Pestilence in the army.—Terms agreed to.

- 1740—M. de l'Aube Rivière, 5th Bishop, comes out with 160 soldiers.—Dies of fever.—Succeeded by M. Pontbriand, 6th Bishop.
- 1743—Territory between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains explored by Verendrye.
- 1744-1745—War between England and France.—Louisbourg taken by Warren, 1745.
- 1746-1747—New England colonies attacked by French and Indians, and the settlements ravaged.—Great cruelties.—Governor, admiral la Jonquière, taken prisoner by the English on his way out.—Replaced by la Galissonnière.—Militia of Canada, 12,000 men.—Professor Kalm visits Canada.
- 1749—La Jonquière released and sent out to Canada.—Halifax founded under the auspices of Earl of Halifax.
- 1752—March 17th, La Jonquière dies at Quebec.—Succeeded by *Duquesne*.
- 1752—Montreal General Hospital given in charge to the Grey Nuns.
- X 1754—Claims of French and English colonists to the Ohio valley bring on hostilities.—May 28th, death of Jumonville.—Colonel Washington and Fort Necessity captured by de Villiers, July 3rd.
- 1755—July 9th, Braddock's defeat and death.—Dispersion of the Acadians.—Dieskau defeated by Johnson, Sept. 8th.—2nd, M. de Vaudreuil, Governor.
- 1756—Generals Montcalm and de Lévi arrive.—August 11th, capture of Chouagen (Oswego).—Bad management of affairs by Intendant Bigot.
- 1757—August 9th, capture of Fort William Henry (Fort George).—Fort George massacre *Aug*—Continued bad management of the affairs of the Colony.—Scarcity.
- 1758—June, 25th, capture of Louisbourg by Boscawen, Amherst and Wolfe.—July 5th, battle of Carillon (Ticonderoga) gained by Montcalm against General Abercromby's army.—August 25th, Fort Frontenac (Cataracoui-Kingston) taken by Bradstreet.—November 24th, Fort Duquesne (Pittsburg) taken by General Forbes.
- 1759—Continued scarcity and bad management of affairs in Canada.—Dissensions.
 June 30th, arrival of English forces for the attack of Quebec.
 July 22nd, capture of Ticonderoga by Amherst.
 July 24th, capture of fort Niagara by Sir Wm. Johnson.
 July 31st, Battle of Beauport Flats, Wolfe repulsed.
 Sept. 13th, Battle of Quebec (Plains of Abraham).—Death of Generals Wolfe and Montcalm.—Sept. 18th, surrender of Quebec.

- 1760—April 28th.—2nd battle of Quebec (St. Foy)—Murray defeated with great loss by de Levis, May 9th, Arrival of English fleet at Quebec.—Retreat of de Lévis.—Sept. 8th.—Capitulation of Montreal.—Departure of de Vaudreuil and Bigot, the last French Governor and Intendant, with de Levis and the French troops, for France.
- 1760-1764—Canada divided into three Military districts under British Commanders.—General Murray commander-in-chief, 1763.—Canada ceded to Great Britain.—Louisiana to Spain.
- 1764—Royal Proclamation—First newspaper, *Gazette*, published at Quebec, 21st. June, 1764.—Conspiracy of Ponthiac.
- 1765—Recall of Murray.—Great fire at Montreal.
- 1766—General Sir Guy Carleton, Governor.
- 1767-1774—Gradual advancement of the Colony in Agriculture and commerce.—Dissatisfaction of Canadians.—Appeals to England.—Constitution of 1774 granted to Canada.—Discoveries of Cook, Dixon and Vancouver on North West coast of America.
- 1775-1776—Revolt of English Colonies.—Invasion of Canada by Montgomery and Arnold.—Capture of forts on the Richelieu, Oct. and Nov.—Capture of Montreal, 13th Nov., 1775.—Assault of Quebec and defeat and death of Montgomery, Dec. 31, 1775.—Arrival of English fleet, May, 1776.—Retreat of Americans, June.—Battle of Three Rivers.
- 1776-1783—Continuation of war of independence in the English Colonies.—Independence of the United States of America.—Arrival in Canada of United Empire Loyalists.—Quebec Library founded, 1779.—North East Company formed.—City of Kingston founded (Cataracoui, Frontenac.)
- 1785—Dark day of Canada Sunday, Oct. 16th.
- 1786-1787—Petitions sent to England by dissatisfied inhabitants.—Sir Guy Carleton (Lord Dorchester) reports on the state of the colony.
- 1788—Territory, since named Upper Canada, settled more largely.—Divided into five districts.
- 1789-1790—Continued petitions to England.—French Revolution.
- 1791—New constitution granted.—Upper and Lower Canada.
- 1792-1793—Arrival of Dr. Jacob Mountain, 1st. Protestant Bishop, Nov. 1st, 1793.—Many priests arrive from France.—Lord Dorchester, Governor.—Sir Alexander McKenzie's explorations.—Sir John Richardson's journey to the Pacific.—Winters in Lat. 50 ° on East side of Rocky Mountains.
- 1794—Road Laws enacted.—York (Toronto) founded.—Washington re-elected President of U. S.

- 1795—Act for constructing Lachine Canal passed (finished 31 years later).—More priests and refugees from France.
- 1796—Sir Robert Prescott, Governor.—“Royal Canadian Volunteers” embodied.—Death of General Amherst.—Recollet Church and Convent at Quebec burnt.—Fort Niagara ceded to the U. S.
- 1798—Petitions to England.—Abuses relative to Crown Laws.
- 1799—Sir R. S. Milnes, governor.—Death of Washington.
- 1800—Settlement by vote, of Jesuit's estates question.—Death of last Canadian Jesuit, Jean Casot.
- 1803—Great fire at Montreal.
- 1804—English Cathedral at Quebec built by aid of bounty of George III.
- 1805—Hon. T. Dunn, Administrator.
- 1804—Nicolet College founded by Bishop Plessis.
- 1806—January, victory of Trafalgar celebrated in Canada.—First shipbuilding at Montreal.—Ursuline convent at Three Rivers burnt.
- 1807—Sir James Craig, Governor.—“Le Canadien” newspaper.—Eight “District” or Grammar Schools opened in Upper Canada.
- 1808–1811—“Mercury” and “Canadien” publish strong articles.—Dissensions in Legislature.—Great Excitement.—“Canadien” suppressed 1810.—Sir Geo. Prevost, Governor, succeeds Sir James Craig.—First steamer on the St. Lawrence arrives at Quebec, Saturday, Nov. 4th, 1809, after a passage of 66 hours, from Montreal.
- 1812—Americans declare war, June 18th.—Mackinac captured, July 17th.—Brock's victory at Detroit, Aug. 16th.—Battle of Queenston Heights and death of Brock, Oct. 13.
- 1813—Defeat at York (Toronto) April 27.—Affairs at Fort Meigs, Fort George and Sackets Harbour, May 1st, 27th, and 29th.—De Salaberry's victory at Chateauguay, Oct. 26.—Victory at Chrysler's farm, Nov. 11.—At Fort Niagara, Dec. 19.—City of Hamilton laid out.
- 1814—Bequest of Hon. J. McGill.—Victory at Lacolle, March 30.—Dark days, July 2 and 3.—Battle of Chippewa, July 5.—Battle of Lundy's Lane, July 23.—Affairs at Fort Erie and Plattsburg, Aug. and Sept.—Treaty of peace between England and U. S., Dec. 24th.
- 1816–1819—Sir John Sherbrooke, Governor, 1816.—Banks at Montreal and Quebec, 1817.—First steamer on Lake Ontario.—Remains of General Montgomery disinterred at Quebec, 16th June, 1818.—Steamer “Walk-in-the-Water” on Lake Erie, May, 1818.—First steamer between Lachine and the Ottawa, 1819.—Duke of Richmond, Governor

His death Aug. 28th, 1819.—Queen Victoria born, May, 24th.

1820—Death of Duke of Kent, January 26th.—Of George III, January 29th.—George IV, proclaimed in Canada, April 24th.—Population of Quebec, 15,250.—Number of dwelling houses in Quebec, 2008.—Papineau's remarkable and loyal speech to the electors of Montreal.

1821—July 7th, Lachine Canal begun.—Eastern Townships now populous and thriving.—Ground and money granted by Earl Dalhousie in aid of St. Andrew's church, Quebec.

1822—Excitement throughout Canada on account of proposed union of the Provinces.—British and Canadian School Society founded.

1823—Legislature voted £2,100 to encourage agriculture, £2,000 for improving the Hotel Dieu Hospital, Quebec, and £200 in aid of an Education Society at Quebec.

1824—Legislature of Lower Canada refuses to concur with that of Upper Canada in raising a loan to pay war losses.—Assembly's address relative to Clergy Reserves.—Literary and Historical Society of Quebec founded by Earl Dalhousie, 15th March, 1824 (incorporated afterwards in 1831).

1825—Death of Bishop Mountain, founder of Church of England in Canada, June 16th.—Death of the R. Catholic Bishop Plessis, December 4th.—Funerals of both deceased Bishops received same honors.—Convention made this year between England and Prussia relative to the North West coast of America.—Twenty-five churches (episcopal) in *each* Province and 16 clergymen in *both*.

1826—Franklin's explorations and boat voyage from mouth of McKenzie River.—Captain Beechey's explorations from Behring's States.—Census of Lower Canada, 423,600 souls.—Legislature grants £500 for exploring the Saguenay district.

1827—Rideau Canal begun under Earl Dalhousie's auspices, by Colonel John By, R. E., who conducted the works until finished, in 1832.—Protestant Ministers of various denominations claim share in the Clergy Reserves.—McGill University founded.—University of Toronto founded (King's College) March 15th.—Dissensions in the Legislature.—Statue in honor of Wolfe and Montcalm at Quebec, 20th November.—Natural History Society of Montreal founded.

- 1828—Continued dissensions in the Legislature.—Inhabitants of the Eastern Townships petition the Parliament of England for redress.—Lord Dalhousie abolishes the system of dividing the militia into British and Canadian battalions.—Departure of Earl Dalhousie, 8th September.—87,000 inhabitants of Lower Canada petition for redress.—Petitions from Montreal and Toronto.—Saguenay district explored.—Toronto University (King's College) endowed.
- 1829—Within a few years numerous educational institutions begun, as St. Hyacinthe, Ste. Thérèse, Chambly, Ste. Anne Colleges, before 1827.—University of Toronto in 1827, Upper Canada College in 1829.—Sir James Kempt, Governor.
- 1830—Death of George IV, June 26.—Canada divided into counties.—Eastern Townships send 8 members to the Legislature.—Death of James Thompson, the last of Wolfe's companions, at Quebec, in his 98th year, August 25th.
- 1831—Wolfe's monument.—Steamer "Royal William" between Quebec and Halifax.—Chambly canal begun.—Immigration exceeds 50,000.—Trustees of St. Andrew's Church Quebec, incorporated.
- + 1832—Cholera, June to October, 20,000 fatal cases.—Victoria College built, October.
- 1833—Corporations of Quebec and Montreal established.—City Bank, Montreal, chartered.
- 1834—Chateau St. Louis burnt, January 23rd.—The "92 Resolutions" passed.—Second visit of the Asiatic Cholera.
- 1835–1836—General excitement and meetings—Insurrection expected.
- 1837—May 7th, "Indignation Meeting" at St. Ours.—Governor's proclamation forbidding seditious meetings, June 15th.—Death of William IV, June 20th.—News of Victoria's accession, received at Quebec, July 31st.—Appeal of the R. C. Bishop of Montreal, October 24th.—"Sons of Liberty" and "Constitutionalists" at Montreal, Nov. 6.—Writs for arrest of Papineau, O'Callaghan, Brown, and Perreault, Nov. 8th.—Affair of St. Denis, Nov. 23rd.—Murder of Lieut. Weir.—Affair at St. Charles, Nov. 24th.—Affairs at Frelighsburg, St. Eustache, St. Benoit, Dec.—Insurrection in Upper Canada, December 4th to 13th.—Steamer "Caroline" destroyed, Dec. 28th.—"Patriots" on Navy Island.
- 1838—Lord Gosford's recall, January.—Suspension of Constitution of Canada, March.—Petitions from Quebec and Montreal.

in the British Parliament, April.—Arrival of Earl Durham at Quebec, May 22nd.—Fleet from England, with troops, at Quebec.—General amnesty proclaimed, June 28th, excepting 24 cases.—Earl Durham visits Upper Canada, July.—Visit to Quebec of Lieutenant Governors of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island to confer with Earl Durham respecting "Confederation of the British Provinces of America."—Delegates from the Lower Provinces present addresses to Earl Durham, September.—Departure of Earl Durham, Nov. 3rd.—Beginning of 2nd insurrection at Beauharnois, Nov. 3rd.—Gallant conduct of the Caughnawaga Indians, Nov. 4th.—Conflict at Odelltown, Nov. 9th.—Desperate conflicts near Prescott, Nov. 13th and 14th.—Conflicts in vicinity of Detroit, December.

- 1839—Sir John Colborne recalled.—Acquittal of Jalbert, tried for the murder of Lieutenant Weir, Sept. 10th.—151 persons convicted of treason embarked at Montreal for New South Wales, Sept. 26th.—H. M. S. *Pique*, Capt. E. Boxer, arrives at Quebec with the Governor General, the Hon. Poulett Thompson, Oct. 17th.—Special Council assembled at Montreal, Nov. 11th.—Union agreed to by the Council, Nov. 11th.—Introduction of the Training and Model Schools of the Colonial and Church School Society.
- 1840—Union of the Provinces agreed to by Parliament of Upper Canada, Feb. 10th.—Act of Union by the British Parliament passed July 21st, 1840.
- 1841—New constitution in force, Feb. 10th, 1840.—First Parliament of United Canada meets at Kingston, June 13th.—Accident to Lord Sydenham, Sept. 4th.—His death at Kingston, Sept. 19th.—Laws passed relative Municipal systems and public education.—Dr. Meilleur appointed Superintendent of education for Lower Canada.—Charter of Queen's College, Kingston, 10th October.—"The Friends' Seminary" established at Picton, Upper Canada.
- 1842—Sir Charles Bagot, Governor.—The "Ashburton Treaty" relative to boundary line between Canada and the U. S.—The line surveyed from St. Regis to the river St. Croix (1842-1845).—Faculty of Arts of Victoria College established.
- 1843—Sir Charles Bagot resigns, March.—His death at Kingston, May 19th.—Sir Charles Metcalfe (Lord Metcalf,) Governor, March 29th.—500 men employed on the boundary survey.—Seat of Government changed from Kingston to

- Montreal.—University of Lennoxville founded.—Montreal School of Medicine.—High School Quebec.—First students admitted to Toronto University, 8th June.—Cornwall canal opened.
- 1844—Dr. Ryerson appointed Superintendent of Education for Upper Canada.—Parliament meets at Montreal, November 28th.—First convocation of Toronto University, Dec. 14th.—Knox's College, Toronto, established.
- 1845—Commission appointed to ascertain the *rebellion-losses*.—Lord Metcalfe recalled at his own request.—Terrible fires at Quebec, May 28th and June 28th.—Earl Cathcart succeeds Lord Metcalfe.—High School of Montreal opened.—University and High School of Bishop's College opened, Oct. 1st, at Lennoxville.
- 1846—Sufferers from the Quebec fires voted £20,000 by the English Parliament.—Agitation about payment of the rebellion losses.—Lake Superior mines explored.—Report of Commissioners on rebellion losses, 18th April.—Partial provision for payment.—Earl Cathcart recalled.—School Bill passed for Upper Canada.
- 1847—Arrival of the Governor General, the Earl of Elgin, Jan. 30th.—City of Kingston incorporated, May 18th.—Large immigration from Ireland.—The "*Ship fever*,"—Normal School of Upper Canada begun, Nov. 1st.
- 1848—British Parliament votes £180,000 for expenses of the immigrants and fever caused to Canada.—New election.—Dr. Wolfred Nelson and Louis Papineau elected members.—English navigation laws repealed, December.
- 1849—Rebellion Losses-Bill passed, April 26th.—The Governor insulted by a mob.—Riot in Montreal.—Burning of the House of Parliament.—Riots at Toronto and other places.—Legislature determine to remove the seat of government to Toronto for 2 years and then to Quebec for 4 years.
- 1850—Parliament at Toronto, May 14th.—Agitation about election of Councillors, expenses, and Clergy Reserves.—Confederation of British American Provinces again mooted.—Bishop Fulford appointed by the Queen to the newly created Diocese of Montreal.
- 1851—" *Separate-School* " question raised in Upper Canada.—July 2nd, Lord Elgin lays corner stone of Normal and Model School buildings at Toronto.—Trinity College, Toronto, founded.—Hincks, Premier.—Railways pro-

moted.—International Exhibition held in London.—Great increase of trade with the U. S.—Great entertainment at Boston given to Canadian merchants and public men, September.—Fire in Montreal, the greatest since 1765.—New elections, November and December.—William Lyon McKenzie elected a member.—Clergy Reserves and Seigniorial land-tenure Bills.—Protestant population of Montreal, 16,250.

- 1852-1855—January 15th, Trinity College, Toronto, opened.—Laval University (Quebec Seminary) chartered.—Various canals completed, or improved, for the navigation of the St. Lawrence—*Lachine, Cornwall, Beauharnois, Welland*. 1852.—Commander Pullen in the Plover winters at Point Barrow, L. at 71° degree N.—Greatest cold 43° below zero.—Montreal Ocean Steamship Company, 1853.—G. T. Railway.—Lower Canada divided into 7 in place of 3 districts.—1854 and 1855,—Seigniorial Tenure and Clergy Reserves questions settled.—Reciprocity in Trade with the U. S. (1855).—Capt. McClure's voyage of discovery (1854-55).—Russia transports munitions of war from the Amoor River to West Coast of North America.
- 1855—Sir Edmund Head, Governor.—Capture of Sebastopol celebrated in Canada.—St. Foy monument raised.—Paris International Exhibition.
- 1856—Regular Mail service between Canada and Great Britain begun by the Montreal Ocean Steamship Company.—Garneau's History of Canada published.—First Roman Catholic Bishops of Hamilton and London, U. C.
- 1857—Three Normal Schools and the Journals of Education established in L. C.—First Episcopal Bishop of Huron.—Mr. Chauveau, Superintendent of Education.—Corner stone of C. C. Cathedral, Montreal, laid by Bp. Fulford, May 21.—"Confederation" brought before Canadian Parliament by Mr. Galt.
- 1858—Jan. 1, Decimal system of money adopted in Canada.—School of Agriculture established at St. Anne, L. C.—Sir N. F. Belleau, Speaker of Legis. Council.—Sir H. Smith, Speaker of Legis. Assembly.—June, Attempt to lay Atlantic Cable fails.—Aug. 2, American Science Association meets at Montreal.—Aug. 7, City of Ottawa named the Capital of Canada.—Aug. 16th, 17th, Great rejoicings throughout America.—Atlantic Cable laid.—1st message from Queen Victoria to the President of U. S.—Messrs. Galt, Cartier and Ross delegates to England respecting Confederation.—Hellmuth College and High School founded at London, Upper Canada, by Dr. Hellmuth.
- 1859—Diocesan Synods of Church of England of Quebec, Montreal

and Toronto petition the Queen for a Metropolitan.—Bp. Fulford appointed Metropolitan.

- 1860—Prince of Wales visits British North America and the United States, between July 20th and Oct. 21st.—Victoria Bridge, Montreal, inaugurated, Aug. 25th.
- 1861—The great Rebellion of the Southern States of America.—Applications from the U. S. for the purchase or loan of arms from Canada refused, April and May.—Population of Montreal, 90,300, Protestants, 24,400, Episcopalians, 9,700.—Seizure of Mason and Slidell by Wilkes, Nov. 8th.—Death of Prince Albert, Dec. 14th.—Troops despatched from England to Canada, Dec. 23rd.
- 1862—International Exhibition at London, May to November.—Canadian exhibitors successful in gaining medals, &c.—Much fighting and bloodshed in the United States.
- 1863—Jan. 6th, Death of Bishop Mountain at Quebec.—March, Election of Bishop Williams, 4th Anglican Bishop of Quebec.—Marriage of Prince of Wales, Mar. 19th.—Illegal recruiting in Canada, for the U. S. armies.
- 1864—Many refugees from the Southern States come to Canada.—Plots (by refugees) against the U. S.—Aug. 6th, Exportation of Anthracite coal from Canada prohibited.—Much correspondence between the Governments of Canada and the United States, in which the former is often thanked for its loyal observance of the law of nations.—Oct, 10th, Quebec conference relative to confederation.—Oct, 20th, Raid upon St. Albans, Vermont, by Southern refugees.—The Banks, &c., robbed.—December, Detective Police and numerous volunteer force, stationed on the frontiers by the Government of Canada to prevent hostile attempts against the U. S.
- 1865—Feb. and March., "Confederation debates" in the Canadian Parliament.—Mar. 13th, Messrs. Galt, Cartier, J. A. McDonald and others appointed to draft address to the Queen on Confederation.—April 2nd, Richmond taken by Gen. Grant.—April 7th, Surrender of Gen. Lee.—End of the rebellion, after 250 battles fought, of which 89 in Virginia.—April 18th, Assassination of President Lincoln and attempted assassination of Secretary Seward at Washington.—August, "*The Great Eastern*" employed to lay Atlantic Cable.—After nearly 1200 miles had been laid the attempt failed through the breaking of the line.—November, Fenian raid from the States looked for.—Sir J. Michel calls out 9 companies of Volunteers.

1866—March 9th, 10,000 volunteers called out.—June 1st, 2nd, 3rd, Fenians cross the Niagara to Fort Erie.—Battle of Ridgway with loss to volunteers of 6 killed and 31 wounded.—Fenians retire.—June 11th, 28th, Fenians threaten other parts of the frontier.—Volunteer force increased to 35,000 men.—Patriotism of Canadians at Chicago and New York.—July 13th, 27th, Atlantic Cable successfully laid by means of the Great Eastern.—The Queen's congratulations conveyed by cable to Lord Monck at Ottawa.—August 2nd, the lost Atlantic Telegraph Cable of 1865 recovered and relaid.—Meeting of the last Parliament of United Canada.—Failure of "Langevin's Bill" on Education and resignation of Mr. Galt.—November, Canadian Statesmen go to England to confer with the British Ministers respecting the details of Confederation.

1867—March 29th, the Parliament of G. Britain passes the "British North America Act" and "The Canada Railway Loan Act."—July 1st, the inauguration of "The Dominion of Canada" celebrated by a general holiday and rejoicings throughout Canada.

APPENDIX

III.

QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

I.—INTRODUCTION AND MAP.

1. By whom and when, was the existence of America first made known to Europeans? Name other discoverers of territories in the Western hemisphere, and the dates of their discoveries.
2. When and for what reasons were the natives of North America named *Indians*? What were the names of the tribes with whom the early French settlers had to do, and where were the territories or hunting-grounds occupied by them?
3. Give some account of the appearance and bodily qualities of the Indians.
4. What were their mental qualities and disposition?
5. What were their chief occupations and habits?
6. What was the nature of their belief or religion?
7. Describe their warlike weapons and customs.

II.—CARTIER'S VOYAGES (ARTS. 1-22) 1534-1544.

8. Give some account of the discoverer of Canada, state what voyages he made, and his route on his first voyage.
9. Describe Cartier's route on his second voyage.
10. Describe Cartier's reception at Stadacona and Hochelaga; what are the modern names of those places?
11. How were Cartier's people afflicted during the winter of 1535? What happened at his departure from Stadacona in 1536?
12. What were the results of Cartier's second voyage?
13. What were the results of Cartier's third voyage?
14. Give some account of Roberval's attempt to found a settlement in Canada.
15. Describe Cartier's virtues and faults.

III.—A. D. 1544-1615 ARTS. 23-42.

16. What caused the kings of France, after Francis I, to forget Canada?
17. What was the enterprise of de la Roche?

18. What was the peltry trade? What other objects brought the early French traders to the St. Lawrence?

19. What persons took part in founding Port Royal (Annapolis)? What was the early name of Nova Scotia? What became of Port Royal?

20. By whom and when was Quebec founded?

21. What part did Champlain take in the quarrels of the Indians, and why?

22. What routes did Champlain follow in his expeditions against the Iroquois in 1609, 1610 and 1615?

23. What were the discoveries made by Champlain in the course of those expeditions?

IV.—A. D. 1615. (ARTS. 45-58).

24. Who were the earliest missionaries in Canada and when did they arrive? At what stations were they employed?

25. Who were the earliest settlers or actual *colonists*?

26. What three causes chiefly hindered the progress of the colony at first?

27. Who were the brothers *de Caen*? What celebrated edifice was founded by Champlain at Quebec?

28. What was the nature of Champlain's efforts from 1624 to 1626?

29. Describe some particulars of the arrival of Jesuit missionaries in 1625.

30. What Company or Society was formed by Richelieu in 1627? Explain what happened in 1628.

31. What happened to Champlain and his people in 1629?

32. How long did the English keep Quebec? Describe Champlain's return in May 1633.

V.—A. D. 1633-1663 (ARTS. 59-99)

33. What was the Company of 100 Associates bound, by its charter, to do for the Colony?

34. What part did Champlain take in promoting the conversion of the Indians?

35. State some particulars of the last days of Champlain? When did he die? What were his virtues and character?

36. What colonies had been founded elsewhere in North America? What has been said of the three principal nations of Europe whose colonists settled in America?

37. Did the Company of Associates perform its duties towards the Colony? How many inhabitants were there in 1635, 1640, 1648 and 1662? By what means were the colonists brought?

38. Describe the first settling of the Island of Montreal in 1642?

39. By what means were work people supplied for the Colony, and wives for the colonists?

40. What were the numbers of the Iroquois warriors? What were the consequences to the colony of Champlain's siding with the enemies of the Iroquois?

41. In what years did the colonists and the Iroquois have peace? What happened in 1646?

42. How did the Iroquois treat the missionaries in 1648 and 1649? What happened to the Huron nation in the latter year?

43. What was the state of the colony, owing to the Iroquois, between 1650 and 1660?

44. What was the design of the Iroquois in 1660, and by what cause were they led to abandon it?

45. Who were the governors, after Champlain, to the year 1661? What was the position of the colonists, as respects the Iroquois, in 1662?

46. In what light did the inhabitants regard the Governors? By what title did the Indians designate a governor?

47. Which were the two earliest religious female establishments in Canada? By whom were they founded? Who was the earliest *schoolmaster*?

48. What was the name formerly given to Montreal? What was done for education there?

49. Who was Bishop Laval? When did he arrive in Canada? What part did he take in regard to the liquor-traffic? What part was taken by the Governors?

VI.—A. D. 1663–1682 (ARTS. 100–151).

50. What was the state of the colony in 1663? What three principal measures were taken by the court of France to remedy the evils?

51. Describe the constitution of the Sovereign Council; also the functions of its chief members.

52. Who were the chief members of the Council at the time of its establishment?

53. What uncommon occurrences were witnessed in Canada in the year 1663?

54. What additions were made to the resources of the colony at this time?

55. What differences occurred between the governor and Laval? What became of M. de Mesy? Who succeeded him as governor?

56. Give an account of the arrival of the Viceroy, de Tracy. What military force was under his command?

57. What forts were built, and what other preparations were made for humbling the Iroquois?

58. Describe de Tracy's expedition against the Iroquois and its results.

59. What two educational institutions were founded by Laval at Quebec? How were the clergy supported?

60. Where were the Indians located in charge of the missionaries, namely the converted Iroquois, the Algonquins and the relics of the Hurons, respectively? The Abenakis?

61. Give an account of Intendant Talon, and state some of his measures for increasing the colony?

62. Who were the "voyageurs" and "coureurs de bois"?

63. Who were the four governors, from 1663 to 1689?

64. What was done by de Courcelle to intimidate the Senecas?

65. Give some account of governor Frontenac. What remarkable events occurred during his governorship?

66. Give an account of the discovery of the Mississippi.

67. Give an account of Robert de la Salle? What stations did he establish? What steps did he take for navigating the Lakes? What was his end?

68. What place was fortified by Frontenac and La Salle on the north shore of Lake Ontario, and for what reasons?

69. What were the causes of difference between Frontenac and the Bishop, as well as the Intendant?

70. From what causes was the colony suffering greatly during Frontenac's first governorship? Why was he recalled in 1682? What did Frontenac say about civilizing the savages?

VII.—A. D. 1682-1689 (Arts. 151-169).

71. Describe de la Barre's expedition against the Iroquois, and state its results.

72. What was de Denonville's conduct towards the Iroquois chiefs, and what unhappy consequences followed?

73. Describe de Denonville's expedition against the Senecas? How did the Ottawa auxiliaries behave during and after battle?

74. Who commanded at Montreal at this time? What was the state of the colony towards 1688?

75. State Kondiaronk's treacherous conduct.

76. Describe the "massacre of Lachine."

VIII.—A. D. 1689-1703 (Arts. 169-189).

77. What measures were taken by Frontenac in order to restore the fortunes of the colony? What were the effects on the minds of the English colonists?

78. Describe the siege of Quebec by Phipps in 1690. What was Frontenac's conduct and how was it recognized?

79. Describe Frontenac's expedition against the Iroquois in 1696. What were the results?

80. What were the two leading objects aimed at by Frontenac in his dealings with the Indians, and what success had he?

81. When did Frontenac die? What title was given to him?

82. Who succeeded Frontenac as governor? What course did he follow towards the Iroquois and other Indian tribes? What occurred at Montreal in August 1701?

83. What was the policy of the Iroquois at this time towards the English and the French colonists?

84. Who was d'Iberville, and what were his services?

IX.—A. D. 1703-1754 (ARTS. 190-223).

85. What were the claims of the English in regard to territory which the French considered to belong to New France?

86. What was the condition of the Western Indian tribes in 1707? Who founded Detroit? What were the mutual feelings of the English and French colonists about 1710 and 1711?

87. What great damages threatened Canada in 1711? To what causes was the safety of the colony owing?

88. What territory was taken from France by the treaty of Utrecht in 1713? How did France seek to repair her loss by that treaty?

89. How long did the governorship of de Vaudreuil last? Describe the prosperous state of the colony before his death in 1725. Who succeeded de Vaudreuil as governor in 1726?

90. What was the duration of M. de Beauharnais's governorship? What regions were explored under his auspices?

91. What led to the war of 1744? What stronghold was captured by the new Englanders in 1745?

92. What happened to governor de la Jonquière on his way out to Canada? By whom was he replaced? What was the character of M. de la Galissonnière? What were his plans?

93. What measures were taken by Galissonnière, Jonquière and M. Duquesne to exclude the English from the west and from the valley of the Ohio?

94. What occurrences at sea served to maintain ill feeling between the mother countries and their respective colonists?

95. Describe the affairs in which Jumonville was killed? Relate the occurrences at Fort Necessity in June 1754.

96. State the positions of the chief fortified posts at this time held by the English and French colonists.

97. What was the condition of Nova Scotia (Acadia) at this time?

X.—A. D. 1754-1759 (ARTS. 222-245).

98. What was the English plan of attack in 1755? What regular troops had the English and French colonists respectively?

99. Describe the operations of the English in Acadia? How any of the French inhabitants were carried off from the ir native

country? Whither were they taken, and what became of their property? What were the reasons alleged for the dealings of the English with the Acadians?

100. Give particulars of the defeat of Gen. Dieskau. How did he account for his ill success?

101. Describe Gen. Braddock's movement against Fort Duquesne ending in his defeat and death? Who commanded the French and what were the forces on both sides?

102. What was done to harass the English colonists during the winter of 1755-56?

103. What officers and troops were sent out by England and France to America in the spring of 1756?

104. Who was now governor of Canada, and what were his character and disposition?

105. Describe the characters of Gen. Montcalm and the officers who accompanied him.

106. Describe the character of Bigot.

107. What was the general condition of Canada at this time?

108. Describe Montcalm's exploit at Chouagen or Oswego.

109. What victory was gained by Montcalm in 1757? Describe what occurred after the capture of Fort William Henry.

110. What were the plans of the English for the year 1758? Who was now the English prime minister?

111. Who commanded the English in the attack upon Louisbourg? What was the result?

112. Describe the encounter between Aberchromby and Montcalm at Carillon (Ticonderoga).

113. What was the result of Gen. Forbes' march upon Fort Duquesne?

114. What were the general results of the campaign of 1758?

XI.—A. D. 1759-1763 (ARTS. 245-286)

115. What were the plans of the English for the campaign of 1759? What was arranged on the side of the French?

116. Describe Gen. Amherst's operations in 1759 at Lake Champlain.

117. What was effected by the English under Sir Wm. Johnson and Gen. Stanwix?

118. Who commanded the expedition against Quebec, and of what did the English armament consist? What was the French force for the defence of Quebec and how was it disposed?

119. How did the English General and Admiral commence operations at Quebec? What happened on July 31st.?

120. What were the effects of the bombardment of the city?

121. Give particulars of the landing of Wolfe's army on the north bank of the St. Lawrence on the morning of Sept. 13th.

122. What were the chief incidents of the battle of Sept. 13th. What were the losses on both sides ?

123. What happened on Sept. 18th ? What were the conditions of the capitulation ?

124. What occurred during the winter of 1759-1760 ? How did the English officers and soldiers behave towards the Canadians ? Where were the French forces stationed ?

125. Describe the battle of April 28th, 1760. Why did de Lévi retreat to Montreal three weeks after his victory ?

126. Describe the movement of the English forces, from three different directions, upon Montreal, in 1760.

127. What were the terms of the capitulation of Montreal on Sept. 9th, 1760 ? Why would the English general not grant the *honours of war* on that occasion ?

128. What was the substance of the Treaty of Feb. 10th, 1763 as respected Canada and the other French possessions in America ?

129. How many of the inhabitants of Canada remained in the country when it passed under the rule of Great Britain ?

130. During the 130 years previous to 1760, how many persons are supposed to have been sent out from France to people New France ?

XII.—A. D. 1763-1791 (ARTS. 287-323).

131. What was the nature of the Royal Proclamation of October 1763 ? What were the expectations of the few British residents in Canada, and what were the fears of the inhabitants of French origin ?

132. Who was the first governor after the cession of Canada to England ? What were his instructions and how far did he execute them ?

133. What name was now given to the Province and to what limits was the territory reduced ?

134. When and why was general Murray recalled ? By whom was he succeeded as governor ?

135. What were the feelings of the Canadian Indians towards the British ? What events occurred in 1764 owing to Pontiac's conspiracy ?

136. What was the general course followed by governor Sir Guy Carleton ?

137. What was the nature of the constitution conferred by the "Quebec Act" of 1774 ? Were the inhabitants of the Province satisfied with that Act ? When did it take effect ?

138. What led the English colonists to rebel against the mother country in 1775 ? Why did they invade Canada ? In what direction did the American forces attack the Province ?

139. Describe the route of general Montgomery. What measures of defence were taken by Governor Carleton ?

140. Describe the assault of Quebec by the Americans on Dec. 31st, 1775. What happened on the arrival of the English ships in May ?

144. Were the Canadians disposed to join the Americans against the English ?

145. When did the struggle between the revolted colonies and England terminate ? What was the result ? Who were the U. E. Loyalists, and how many came to Canada ?

146. Who succeeded Sir Guy Carleton ? What were his disposition and the results of his government ? What steps were taken to remove the general discontent ?

147. What was the population of the Province in 1790 ? How many of these were English-speaking or Protestants ?

XIII.—A. D. 1791-1812 (Arts. 324-348).

148. Give some particulars of the constitution of 1791.

149. Describe the boundaries between Upper and Lower Canada and between these and the United States.

150. When, and at what places, were the first Provincial Parliaments held ? Who then governed in Lower and Upper Canada respectively ? What sort of spirit was manifested in regard to the working out of the new constitution ?

151. What proofs were given of the popularity of Lord Dorchester ? When did he finally leave Canada ? Who succeeded him ?

152. Mention proofs of the prosperity, harmony, and loyalty, which existed at this period.

153. What circumstance caused dissatisfaction with the Legislative Councils both of Upper and Lower Canada ? What abuses grew out of the constitution of those Councils ?

154. What additional grievance was complained of in Lower Canada ?

155. What difficulties sprang from the "Gaols Question" in 1805 and 1806 ?

156. What newspapers now existed in Lower Canada ? How did these promote dissension ?

157. What difficulties arose respecting the presence of Judges and of Jews in the House of Assembly ?

158. How did governor Sir James Craig shew his displeasure at the course pursued by the House of Assembly ? What steps did he take in regard to the newspaper *Canadien* ?

159. Who succeeded Sir James Craig ? In what ways did he endeavour to allay discord ?

XIV.—A. D. 1812-1815 (Arts. 349-370).

160. Mention some of the alleged causes which induced the Americans to declare war against Great Britain in 1812.

161. What were the ideas of the Americans generally respecting the facility with which Canada might be conquered? What number of regular troops were then stationed in British North America?

162. What was the first operation of the war of 1812? Give some account of Michillimakinac.

163. Describe general Brock's operations at Detroit. What prevented him from following up his victory?

164. What happened in October on the Niagara frontier? What were the results of the battle of Queenston Heights? What famous Indian chiefs served under general Brock?

165. What victories were gained by general Proctor in 1813? What caused his retreat up the river Thames? What became of Proctor's force?

166. What famous Indian chief was killed at the battle of Moravian Town?

167. Give some particulars of the battle of Stoney Creek.

168. Describe Sir Gordon Drummond's operations in October, 1813. Why did he cause the American towns Lewiston, Black Rock, and Buffalo to be burnt?

169. Describe the battles of Chateauguay and Chrysler's Farm, and state the important results of the victories gained.

170. What were the American plans for the campaign of 1814?

171. What successes were gained by the British under Major Handcock, and on Lake Ontario? Describe the battle of Lundy's Lane.

172. What were the results of general Prevost's movement on Plattsburg? When was peace made between England and the United States?

XV.—A. D. 1814-1838 (Arts. 371-387).

173. What is the nature of the lessons taught by the history of the American war of 1812-1814?

174. What was the general character of the Governors and Administrators who ruled in Upper and Lower Canada between 1814 and 1841?

175. What was complained of in the composition of the Executive and Legislative Councils of Lower Canada? Of whom did the Legislative Assembly mostly consist?

176. What question created dissension in the Legislature of L. C.? What is the process called "stopping the supplies," and when was it resorted to by the Assembly?

177. What project for putting an end to dissension was suggested about 1820? What feelings were roused by it in L. C., and what steps were taken to defeat it?

178. Give some account of the subjects of discord in Upper

Canada, explaining the terms "*family compact*" and "*clergy reserves*."

179. Who was the most notorious opponent of the government of Upper Canada, how was he dealt with by the Assembly, and what designs did he harbour?

180. Give some account of Louis Papineau. What was the state of Lower Canada in 1832, 1833 and 1834? What was the nature and object of the "92 Resolutions."?

181. State some of the occurrences which preceded the outbreak in L. C. in 1837?

182. What happened at St. Denis and St. Charles? Who were the leaders of the insurgents and what befel them?

183. What displays of loyalty were made in Quebec, Montreal, Upper Canada and the other British Provinces? What was the behaviour of the Bishop and Clergy of the majority of inhabitants of L. C.?

184. How was the insurrection put down in the country North and West of Montreal?

185. What was done in March, 1838, respecting the constitution of 1791, and what provision was made for the government of the Province?

XVI.—A. D. 1838-1841 (ARTS. 387-408).

186. In what capacity was Earl Durham sent to Canada? What measures did he adopt? When and why did he resign? What remedy did he recommend for ending the troubles of the Provinces?

187. State some particulars of the insurrection of 1838 in L. C.

188. Relate the circumstances of the revolt at Toronto headed by McKenzie.

189. What "sympathy" was afforded to the insurgents by Americans on the frontiers? State the particulars of the cutting out of the *Caroline*.

190. At what other places in Upper and Lower Canada was there fighting with the refugees and sympathisers? What became of the chief leaders in the troubles of 1837 and 1838?

191. How were Sir John Colborne's services recognized?

192. Upon what course did the British government determine? Who was sent to carry out the project of Union of the Provinces? On what grounds were some opposed to this union?

193. When were the Canadas united, and what were the principal provisions of the Act of Union?

194. What was the increase of population in the Canadas between 1800 and 1814? What was the total population in 1841? To what extent had *immigration* increased the population?

195. How was the progress of the Provinces shewn by the increase of the revenue, and of imports and exports?

198. Give some account of the increase in the number of the ministers of religion before 1841.

197. What was done by the Legislature for the advancement of Education and the diffusion of useful knowledge, before 1841?

198. When were steam ships introduced on the Canadian waters?

199. How many newspapers were published in the Canadas previously to 1841?

200. State some particulars relating to the pestilence (cholera) in 1832 and again in 1834.

XVII.—A. D. 1841-1867 (ARTS. 409-459).

201. Where did the first parliament of United Canada meet, and what leading questions were dealt with? What public loss was experienced before the close of the session?

202. In what important respect does this period of Canadian History (1841-1867) differ from all former periods?

203. What is "responsible government"? What eminent men were in the government in the times of Lord Sydenham, Sir Charles Bagot and Lord Metcalfe?

204. What change came about in the opinions of many respecting the chief actors in the outbreak of 1837 and 1838? How was this change manifested?

205. What great calamity occurred in Quebec in 1845, and what was done for relief of the sufferers?

206. Who succeeded Lord Metcalfe? What were then the chief public questions and what was done respecting them?

207. When did Earl Elgin become Governor? Who were then the leading public men of Upper and Lower Canada respectively?

208. What was the nature of the "Rebellion Losses Bill", and what occurred in consequence of the governor's assent being given to it? Was the governor's course approved by the British government?

209. What important public questions were introduced and wholly or partially settled during Earl Elgin's governorship? State the nature of each, and some particulars of their adjustment.

210. Who succeeded the Earl of Elgin as Governor General? What was done in 1855 and 1856 relating to the seigniorial tenure of land and the election of Legislative Councillors?

211. What new question now excited agitation and dissension? What question was referred to the Queen for settlement, and what was her Majesty's decision?

212. Give some account of the "North West Territory" and state the proposed scheme respecting it.

213. In what way did party spirit and combinations prevent good legislation, and cause dissatisfaction, during the earlier part of Lord Monck's governorship?

214. How were England and Canada in danger of being involved in the great strife between the Northern and the Southern

States of the American Union? Were the *Governments* of the United States and of Canada on bad terms?

215. Give some account of the objects of the Fenians, and of their attack upon Canada in 1866.

216. What means were found by the statesmen of Canada, in 1864 and 1865, for putting an end to the difficulties which hindered legislation?

217. What was the increase of population from 1841 to 1861, and what is the anticipated population of 1871?

218. Mention some particulars shewing the vast growth of commerce and trade of Canada since 1841. What caused the public debt of Canada? State some particulars of the Canals, Railways, and Telegraph lines of Canada.

219. Mention some particulars of the visit of the Prince of Wales in 1860. What was the extent of his journey through Canada and the United States, and what was the nature of the reception accorded to him by the inhabitants? What feelings chiefly impelled the people to behave as they did towards the young Prince?

220. How was the progress of Canada manifested to the world at the International Exhibitions of 1851 and 1862? What Prince promoted those Exhibitions, and what mournful event happened on December 14th, 1867?

221. Describe the Municipal-system of Canada.

222. Mention some particulars respecting the progress of Public Education in Upper and Lower Canada.

223. When and by whom was the project of "Confederation" brought forward in the Canadian Parliament? What was done respecting it?

224. What declaration was the result of the conference at Charlottetown? What was the result of the Quebec conference held in October 1864?

225. Mention some further particulars relative to the bringing about of the Confederation of the British North American Provinces? What Provinces eventually became parts of the Confederation?

226. By what Act of the British Parliament was the "Dominion of Canada" established? What other Act was passed at the same time, and for what reasons?

227. State some principal provisions of the Constitution of the Dominion of Canada.

228. On what day did the Dominion of Canada come into existence? Name the capital of the Dominion and the capitals of the several Provinces. Who were the first Lieutenant-Governors?

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N. B. The numbers indicate pages; the order of the words in the index is regulated, in part, by the order of their occurrence in the pages of the book, for the purpose of rendering this index more generally useful.

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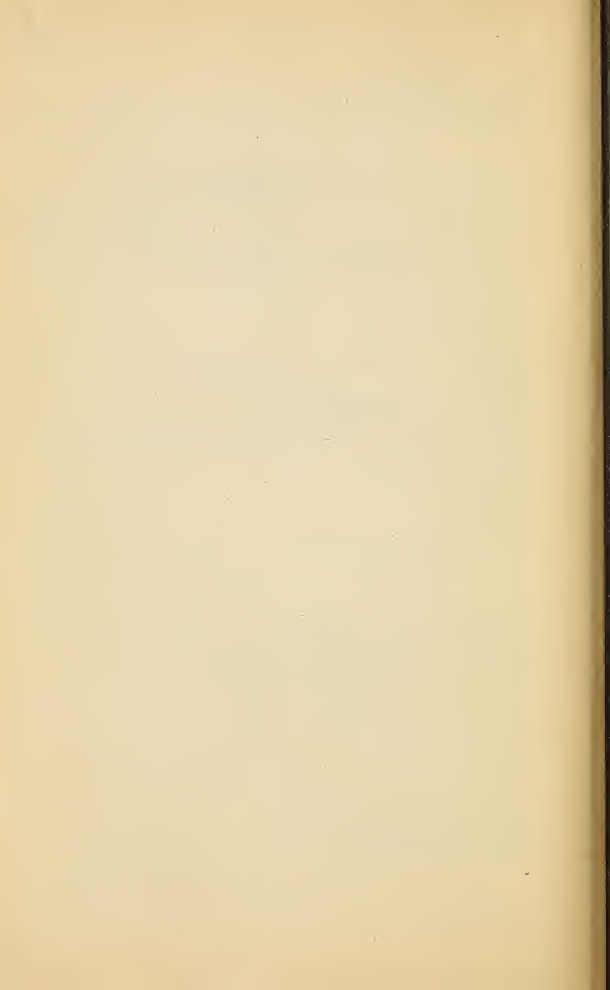
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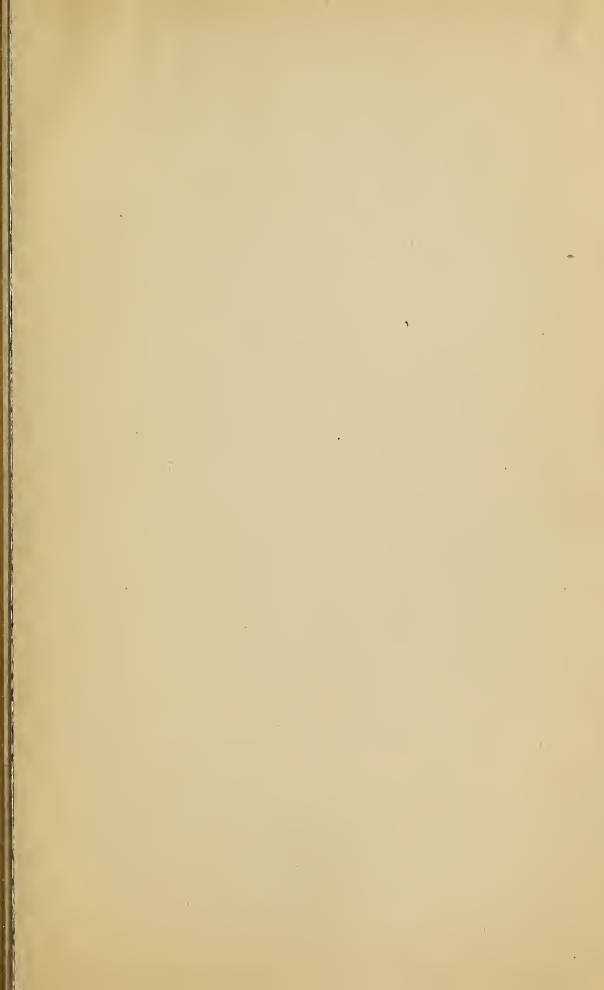
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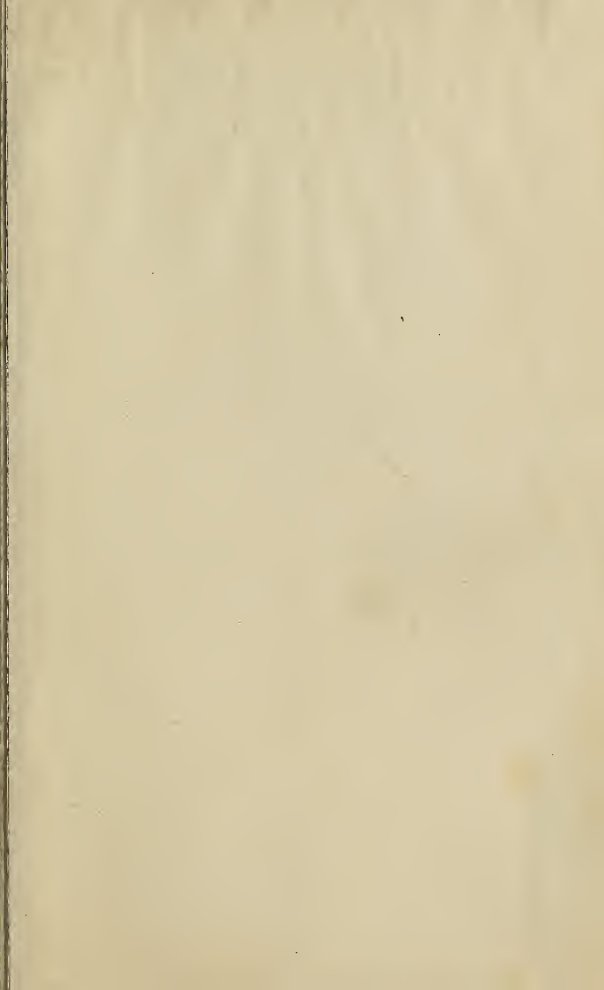
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